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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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FLASHLIGHTS

PASSING IN REVIEW MEN AND EVENTS.

The Film-Flam of Per Capita Exposed—Tennessee's Governor Declares Property Inviolable Despite Its Harmfulness—Material Interests Work Where Philanthropy Fails.

The New Zealand Department of Labor has issued a neatly printed New Year's card with pictures of "dwellings of workers," and of workers at work at "co-operative labour." All very pretty. A few companion pictures of New Zealand "dwellings of idlers," and of idlers co-operatively at leisure, would convey some idea, now very imperfectly conveyed, of the amount of exploitation practiced by the New Zealand co-operative idlers upon their "co-operative labourers."

Consul-General William Martin, of Hankow furnishes official proof of the utter utterness of the Japanese. Why, they compete in China with American goods in a way that simply throws out the American product. They sell cheaper; and what is still worse, the scamps furnish better goods—even in Standard Oil line, despite its Baptist sanctimony. This adds impiousness to "treason to the flag."

People who have been sceptical about the "progress in Panama" may now rest easy. No less an authority on engineering and the kindred sciences of geology and geodesy than President-elect Taft has himself inspected the works along the Canal, and he pronounces them "good." Now get ready for some more huge appropriations and some more bond issues "to meet unforeseen contingencies."

Either Justice Harlan or Judge Wright is at fistfists with the Law. Justice Harlan has just written the opinion that throws the Paper Trust out of Court in the suit it brought to recover \$144,000 from the Louis Voigt & Sons Company of Cincinnati for paper delivered. The principle upon which the Paper Trust was thrown out of court is that the Trust is "in restraint of trade," and, as such, is entitled only to be kicked out of Court. What about Van Cleave's Buck Stove & Range Company? What is the concern but a Trust, hence "in restraint of trade," hence entitled to a kick from, instead of being slobbered over, with kisses by the Court?

"We're all richer than ever," is the word sent out from the United States Division of Loans and Currency, which, announcing the amount of currency in circulation on February 1 as \$3,091,312, 546, computes the per capita at \$35—"the highest point ever reached in the history of the country."—Whereupon the millions in the land with not 35 cents to their names, let alone in their pockets, are afforded a fresh opportunity to see through the film-flam of per capita. The per capita in a room, where there are 100 persons, may be \$35, and yet just 1 man of the whole lot may have \$3,500, while the remaining 99 may have just vacancy in their pockets.

Gov. Patterson of Tennessee sets up a theory of "divine right of property" as his reason to veto the bill prohibiting the manufacture of intoxicants in the State. His veto amounts to saying: "It matters not how much harm an industry may inflict upon a community, if capital is once invested in the industry, to prohibit the same is to destroy property and to violate the sense of justice." The manufacture of intoxicants may or may not be harmful. We leave that aside, so does Gov. Patterson. The principle enunciated in his veto, however, is a revamping of the "divine right of Kings." Whither are we drifting?

"Tainted money" does really seem to spread contagion. It has become a daily occurrence for some minister of the Standard Oil Baptist persuasion to be exposed of peculation. A job lot of four of them were last month exposed in Pittsburgh of having received \$100 apiece to boost the politician Magee simultaneously on a given Sunday. And now another Baptist preacher, the Rev. Henry Wilmer, with headquarters in Chicago, is convicted in Rome, Italy, of embezzling

the funds of his church, and sentenced to three years in the penitentiary.

The Nevada Legislature has resolved itself into a regular land-booming sharpers' agency. Seizing upon "the threatened inroad of the Japanese" as the pretext, the legislators of Nevada adopted resolutions advertising their State as "the fourth largest State territorially in the Union," and possessed of "more vacant land for tilling and agricultural benefits than any State in the Union." That the "fourth largest State territorially" is the 52nd, or last, smallest State or territory populationally, notwithstanding its alleged primacy in point of "tilling and agricultural benefits" is a little item that the Nevada patriots forgot to mention.

"First catch your oyster," etc., is a maxim that the old women of both sexes, who are developing plans to "save the babies," have yet to grasp. These full-hearted but empty-headed folks fail to see that the birth of babies is declining. These folks, intent on "saving babies," do not perceive that the cause which prevents babies from being born inevitably makes havoc among those that are born. That cause is the declining economic security. Remove that cause and babies will not need being "saved."

Undismayed by Marx's warning, that "you can not revolutionize society behind its back," and that Socialists are not made of the fly-material that is caught by taffy—undismayed by any such considerations, and driven by the banker after "circulation" (read "circulating medium"), the Girard, Kan., Socialist party paper "The Socialist Woman" has decided to drop the word "Socialist" from its name, and insert in its stead the "non-irritating" word "Progressive." Henceforth the paper will be known as "The Progressive Woman." "The Progressive Woman" should fly at its masthead the motto: "We have an abiding faith in the trick."

The Los Angeles, Calif., "Common Sense," an organ of the Socialist party, is greatly exercised over the fourth proposed amendment to the city charter. The amendment, it is correctly pointed out, would have for its immediate and practical effect to exclude all parties except two leading capitalist ones. This scheme "Common Sense" inveighs against as a deep conspiracy against its party. In so doing "Common Sense" belies its name. Common sense should applaud the scheme. The scheme may, or may not be meant for a manoeuvre against the S. P. If so meant the manoeuvres are manoeuvring against themselves, and in favor of the S. P.—if the S. P. can be saved. As a party of reform, immediate demands and such patrician, municipal elections furnish matchless opportunities to wholly run into the ground the Socialist aspirations of the S. P. In the measure that the S. P. is barred from such reform fields its Socialist aspirations would have a chance to crystallize into Socialism; in the measure that the S. P. is afforded the opportunity to meddle with municipal pettiness, in that measure its Socialist aspirations will vanish all the more rapidly, and itself run into the ground. All real Socialists in the Los Angeles S. P., if there be any, should hail with joy amendment number four. It is their party's only remaining chance.

How true it is that everything is relative may be judged from the buoyant language with which the 1,344 failures during the month of January are reported in contrast with the 1,949 failures in January, 1908. Formerly 1,344 failures would have been considered shocking; now, after we had 1,949 failures, 1,344 makes people happy. And so it will go on. By-and-by, 1,949 will be deemed "a sign of returning prosperity," when compared with a 2,500 previous list of failures. And after that 2,500 failures will be hailed as "an evidence of healthy conditions," when compared with some previous 2,500 failures. Thus gradually the light goes out, and the eye accustoms itself to darkness—unless rudely awaked from its sinking stupor.

The "philanthropy" in the sub-title: "A Weekly Journal of Philanthropy and Social Advance" used by "Charities and The Commons" is given a deserved knock in that paper itself. It quotes the first vice-president of the Casualty Company of America as saying that the employers' liability insurance had proved a potent force in re-

RUSSIA'S LATEST MESSAGE

"The Case of Azev" is meat for thought; for plenty of thought; for thought, and thought again.

The man who enjoyed the reputation of an arch revolutionist; who had to his "credit" the murder of a string of nobilities, Grand Duke Sergius among the lot; the sincerity of whose purpose seemed seasoned by "martyrdom in Siberia"; and who, after all, is now known to have acted, step by step, in obedience to "orders from above," instead of, as supposed, in obedience to "orders from below"—such a man is a monumental figure: the message that he sends to the American Movement is not the least important, or least timely of the many messages that are pouring in out of Russia.

The popular conception regarding the police spy, or "agent provocateur," is that he simply eggs on unbalanced revolutionists to deeds that lead to their own undoing. The "case of Azev" opens wider vistas. Like the moon, which shows only one face to the earth, manipulators of the "agent provocateur" allowed him to show only one side of his make-up. The other side is now discovered.

ducing the illegal employment of children; the insurance companies' refusal to pay claims in the case of accidents to such children tended to make the evasions of the law economically undesirable. Thus material interests are shown to accomplish what no end of philanthropic exhortations ever did or could.

It being established that Senator Stephenson of Wisconsin spent not less than \$100,000 and probably \$250,000, to secure his re-nomination at the primaries, the gentleman may now prove by himself the correctness of the principle advanced by his class that "you can not grow rich by legislation." The gentleman may now demonstrate that the correct theory is: "Grow rich by miracle; then go to the Legislature, and grow richer."

Last week's "La Follette" contains a summary of the acts of Executive usurpations committed by the President. So conspicuous by its absence from the list is the President's violation of the Spooner law, with its sequel of Panama scandals, that one is forced to ask, Why the omission?

Those who wonder whether the clergymen, who are coming out as "Christian Socialists," are "on the level," meaning whether these clergymen are sincere in the expressed desire for Socialism, or whether theirs is but a scheme to head Socialism off and into the ground—those who are in doubt on the subject should contemplate the corpses of the Rev. Frederick V. G. H. Vahey, a Methodist minister, and his wife, Maria. The two committed suicide by inhaling gas. Poverty the cause. The "Christian Socialist" ministers are "on the level." They mean well enough. What they need is to have their intelligence brought abreast of their feelings, in other words, to be taught Socialism.

The divorce suit, brought by May Blair Brokaw, against her husband, the multimillionaire W. Gould Brokaw, furnishes the first reason yet furnished upon which the millionaire's family can claim that "the family is the foundation of government." Mrs. Brokaw complained that her husband established "a system of espionage" around her. Now we know why the millionaire class look upon their "Government" and their "Family" as mutually supporting institutions. Of course, "Government by spies" must rest upon "Family by spies," and vice versa.

Some railroad stock owner's corns have been stepped upon heavily in the office of the New York "Evening Post." Hitherto the "Post" has been emphatic in declaring that "you can not get rich by legislation," and that the Courts are in the nature of a Holy of Holies. Now that Harriman has been elected to the directorate of the New York Central, and that, by adding the 12,282 mileage of the Central to the previous 55,477 miles of railroad that he controlled, the "Post" denounces Harriman as a reprobate who "has his creatures not only in Congress, but in the Legislatures of many States," and darkly hints at his ownership of Governors and Courts. It over is the hour of anguish that extracts the truth from the breast of our "gentleman" class.

The "agent provocateur" has a double mission—to rid Usurpation of the "pestiferous revolutionist," and also, to rid Usurpation of bothersome fellow Usurpers. The well managed "agent provocateur" accomplishes both ends—he accomplishes the one by accomplishing the other. It is now evident that Grand Duke Sergius, Von Plehve, Sipiaguine, Bogdanovich, and, who knows how many others! were distasteful branches to the trunk of the Czar's regime. They seem to have absorbed sap that the trunk preferred to have absorbed by itself and some other pet branches. The distasteful branches were to be pruned off. The direct process would have raised a scandal. An indirect process was preferable. The physical force revolutionist afforded the means. These means were seized.

The story is told of a fight having once broken out in the gallery of a New England theater, and the rioter being seized and about to be thrown down into the pit, a nasal voice was heard shouting above the din: "Don't waste him! Don't waste him! Drop him on a fiddler!"—"Don't waste the hairbrained physical-force-only revolutionist! Don't

WHO PAYS THE TAXES?

THE COST OF MAINTAINING GOVERNMENT IS BORNE BY CAPITALIST CLASS.

Daniel De Leon in a Lecture Shows That the Working Class, Though It Produces All Wealth, Only Gets a Fraction of Its Product; the Employing Class Gets Greatest Portion and Taxes Come Out of That Portion.

In speaking on the subject, "Who Pays the Taxes?" at Arlington Hall, N. Y. city, on Feb. 3, Daniel De Leon lucidly showed that it is not the working class which paid taxes. On the contrary, it is the capitalist class which does so.

Taxes, the speaker pointed out, are paid with the wealth produced by workingmen, true enough, but with wealth which the workers never receive as the reward of their toil. It is out of the profits of the capitalist interests that the cost of maintaining government must come.

At the start of his lecture De Leon called attention to an important point which all must bear in mind who would approach the question of taxation. One must be careful to understand just what is meant by the word "pay." "I pay for a thing when I buy it, whether I give money or something in kind. If I buy a coat from a tailor, I pay him say \$5 and he pays me with the coat. The test of whether a man pays for an article lies in this: If he does not pay he has that money in his pocket that he had at first.

"Suppose I go into a store for a hat. I have with me \$5; the hat costs \$2. I buy the hat, pay for it, and leave the store with \$3 in my possession.

"Now, say I do not buy any hat at all. I then leave the store with my five dollars intact. I paid nothing, because I bought nothing.

"The test of an individual holds good of a class: the working class. Suppose the working class do not pay out anything, then they would keep in their possession what they otherwise would not have had did they make a purchase.

"He who pays must pay out of what he has. He who has must have acquired. It is impossible for one who has not acquired anything to pay anything. In order to find out who pays the taxes we must see who has the funds to pay."

At this point the speaker called attention to how the capitalist interests contradicted themselves at different times when they in public uttered themselves upon taxation. De Leon mentioned an incident in the Henry George campaign where the propertied classes asked: "What do these workingmen mean, by nominating Henry George; they don't pay the taxes." This statement, of course, meant that the men of means were the tax-payers in the community.

Then reverting to the war taxes that were imposed in the Spanish-American

war, De Leon cited the brewery interests, who, after that war, went before the working class and said, "Workmen, you are paying these taxes; they must be removed." And the brewers, by such talk, went before Congress to have the war tax repealed in the "interests of the working people!"

"Thus in one breath, capitalists tell the workers they don't pay, and in the next breath they say the workers do pay.

"Who pays the taxes implies the question: does the workingman pay? If he does, he must have acquired that which is necessary to pay with. It follows that if he does not pay taxes he will be in pocket that which otherwise would be paid. We must find out then how he gets his wherewithal to pay.

"The workingman acquires a certain portion of the wealth of the land by selling his labor power. What he gets is wages. Out of this he has to live and pay for all that he needs to keep him alive. Does he also pay taxes? Let us see.

"Taxes are wealth. Whether paid in money or in kind, they are wealth. It follows that taxes must be paid out of wealth. Who produces the wealth, the capitalist or the workingman? The worker, the working class is the sole producer of all wealth."

De Leon here mentioned in proof of the contention that labor produces all wealth, the fact that the Consuelo Vanderbilt, though drawing enormous dividends, all of which is wealth, does not produce a single penny's worth of values. The New York Central roads would be operated though all the millionaire owners should die. But if the employees on those roads should stop work, wealth production would thereby cease. The same held good generally. Let the capitalist class of the nation perish, wealth production would still go on; let the workers lay down their tools and no values would be created.

"Now, say the workingman produces all wealth, does it not follow that he pays the taxes? Not at all. If he pays, then he pays out of what he pockets." De Leon then clearly showed by means of a blackboard that taxes were paid out of the portion of wealth produced by the working class, but which wealth it never received, and which was appropriated by the capitalist class.

To illustrate this argument the speaker drew a line across a blackboard to represent the total wealth produced. "This line represents the amount of wealth created by labor. It represents the billions of dollars in our country. But every one knows that the working class never received those billions. They have been produced by workmen, but not acquired by them."

The lecturer marked off one-fourth the length of the line to show the portion of wealth that labor received, stating that the percentage was a high one. He then proceeded: "Say that twenty-five cents represents the amount a worker needs to live with. Taxes are now raised upon

the necessities of life and a worker needs fifty cents instead of twenty-five cents, or he will die. The result is that wages will rise to fifty cents." Calling attention to the same line on the blackboard, the speaker showed that wages would move from the quarter mark up to the middle point. "Now then, we see that the extra twenty-five cents needed by the workman as the result of the levying of the tax come out of that portion which previously went to the capitalist; it comes out of that product created by Labor but which it never acquired. It therefore is obvious that the worker does not pay the taxes.

"Suppose prices go down, because of lower taxation. Instead of twenty-five cents, he now needs only twenty cents to get the things he needs for existence. His wages, the wages of the working class as a whole will then descend also. He will get no less of the necessities of life than he had before. He will get just as much as he got with his fifty cents. It will make no difference to him, whether taxes are high or low; he is no better and no worse off.

"If, as is wrongly claimed, the working class paid the taxes, then a drop of taxation from the fifty-cent mark to the twenty-five-cent mark, according to illustration, would leave him with twenty-five cents in his pocket, but this he is not allowed to keep; the law of wages makes it out of the question."

Approaching the subject from another point of view, De Leon took up the case of wealthy individuals squandering money for luxuries for their kept mistresses. "Say one of these individuals buys a \$5,000 necklace for such a sweetheart." Does the workman pay for that necklace? He does pay, if in the case the capitalist does not buy the article the worker is \$5,000 in pocket. But it is plain that such is not the case. Whoever pays, it is not the worker. That jewelry is paid for with wealth produced by labor but never pocketed by it.

"The capitalists are always trying to reduce taxes. They are trying to reduce them solely out of love for the workers, so they claim. They are interested in lightening the burdens of labor!"

"The fact is, however, that the capitalist class is interested in reducing taxation to cheapen the expense of political government and thereby to appropriate as much as it can to itself of the products of labor.

"What a workingman gets is not determined by taxation, but by the supply of him in the labor market."

The fallacy of the Single Tax theory was neatly exposed by the speaker. De Leon showed that rents do not rise because the tax rate goes up, but the tax rate goes up because land values increase. And the increased tax comes out of the landlord's pocket.

"Say a certain land value is \$100. The tenant pays \$100. Then the value goes up to \$200. Along comes the tax collector and raises the tax-rate. The landlord must foot the bill. Instead of his getting \$100 extra, he gets \$100 less the increased tax. It is the landlord who loses, and not the tenant, since the latter would have to pay the \$200 rent anyhow."

"In conclusion, I will say that taxes are raised by the capitalist class to support the political government without which it could not maintain its existence. The higher the taxes, the lower the share of the capitalist in the product of labor; the lower the taxes, the greater his share. When the capitalists therefore appeal to the working class to help lower the rates of taxation, they are asking labor to help them lower expenses."

FREEDING THE MEXICAN PRISONERS.

League, Encouraged by Success in Rudowitz Case, Takes Up Theirs.

Chicago, February 3.—Now that Christian Rudowitz has been freed, the Political Refugee League has undertaken the task of rescuing from prison five Mexican revolutionists, four of whom are held at Los Angeles and the other at Fort Leavenworth, Kan., on the order of President Diaz. The Mexicans are held prisoners for the simple reason that they published in western sections of American newspapers in which they printed the propaganda of the Mexican Liberal party.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

CALIFORNIA NOTES

DOINGS IN 'FRISCO AND IN SACRAMENTO.

Unemployed Question to the Front—Municipality Offers No Solution—Old Party Politicians Out-Jingo the Socialist Party Amateurs.

San Francisco, February 1.—The unemployed problem is just now occupying a great deal of space in the San Francisco papers. Much peculiar philosophy is thus produced by the prostituted pen-pushers. For the most part it is trash. One noteworthy exception emanates from the organ of that peerless people's friend, Hearst. In brief, it is this: Put the hungry idlers to work repairing the streets. The streets need it and sooner or later the work must be done. Do it now when the labor market is glutted and prices are low. To delay, it was pointed out, would work a great injustice on the farmers who, in the summer season, require a plentiful supply of cheap labor. Both municipality and agriculturist could thus enjoy the blessing undisturbed.

Further, the lamentable fact was brought to light that thousands of flats, houses and rooms were placarded with white, mournful, staring "To Let" signs. This is a double evil, the paper declared, since it means both a monstrous loss of revenue to the tax-payer, and makes a bad impression on outsiders.

Now, if the unemployed were given work, many of these unaesthetic signs would vanish. What was not mentioned was the equally palpable fact that thousands, hungry and rain-soaked, tramp the streets without any shelter whatever. Another shameful fact that was also withheld is that thousands are living in the most wretched hovels suffering the vilest overcrowding.

The unemployed have formed an organization and established a headquarters. There they receive spasmodic aid, and publish a paper called "The Voice of the Unemployed." They are holding meetings at which they denounce the methods of the "Salvation Army," "The Whosoever Will Mission" and other charity business concerns. They cry for work, plead for work, demand work. But work there is none. Even Hearst's canny street repairing scheme is not feasible, because, as usual, the city is "broke."

The Calhoun trial drags wearily on. Four more temporary jurors have been obtained in the last week, bringing the total to eight. The difficulties met are well nigh insuperable, since nearly everyone holds some fixed opinion and holds it tenaciously. Only those whose minds are senile and stagnant or blank and petrified are eligible.

At Sacramento, the Marxian school of economics has been dealt a "body blow": Senator Cortwright, father of the idiotic anti-trust law which bears his name, has been blessed with another offspring. It is in the shape of an amendment to the aforementioned act and reads, "Labor, whether skilled or unskilled, is not a commodity."

This very anti-trust law has been proved a pro-trust law. Those combinations and corporations which are already formed are immune, and only the minor dealers and producers are hit by it. They cannot combine to fight these already trustified.

The anti-alien law (read anti-Jap) still slumbers in committee although there is little doubt that it will be favorably reported and passed. It provides that no alien shall hold land in the State, but it is not retroactive.

Every petty politician, railroad, Republican and Democrat alike, is riding the jingo anti-Jap nag. Our friends and fellow revolutionists(?) of the Socialist party rode this sorry Rosinante last election, hoping to obtain a purse of votes thereby. They failed to land and now they stand crestfallen and discouraged because the old party politicians have taken the nag from them.

The anti-race track bill which passed the Assembly with such ease was reported adversely from the Senatorial Committee on Morals. This means its defeat. The race track men were on hand in great numbers and with a barrel of coin. President Williams, of the California Jockey Club, proved conclusively in a speech before the committee that crimes from murder down to "what he would not mention in the presence of

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NEWS ON AZEV

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU CALLS ATTENTION TO THE SPY.

Central Committee of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists Issue Notice Exposing True Character of Nicholas' Paid Agent—Effect of the Affair on the Party.

International Socialist Bureau.
Brussels, Belgium,
January 21, 1909.

To the Secretaries and Delegates of All Countries,

Dear Comrades:—We have just received an official communication on the Azev affair from the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia, of which a copy is sent herewith.

Fraternal Greetings,
Ed. Anselme,
L. Furnemont,
Emile Vandervelde,
Camille Huysmans,
Secretary.

Executive Committee, International Socialist Bureau.

(Enclosure.)
Paris, January 14, 1909.
50 Lhomond Street.

My Dear Huysmans:
I have just received from the Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party the following:

NOTICE

The Central Committee of the Socialist Revolutionary Party of Russia calls the attention of the comrades to the fact that the engineer Eugene Philippovitch Azev, 38 years old, known under the aliases of "Tolsty," "Ivan Nicolaievitch," and "Valentine Kousmitch," a member of the Party since its foundation, several times elected as a representative in its central committees, has been convicted of maintaining relations with the Russian secret political police. Azev is an agent provocateur.

He has just escaped by flight before the conclusion of the investigation to which he was put.

By his personal qualities he is a very dangerous man, and may prove extremely troublesome to the Party in the future.

Detailed information on the police activities of this individual, as well as upon the circumstances surrounding his exposure, will be published in the near future.

(Signed) The Central Committee of the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party.
January 8, 1909.

I request you to communicate this notice to the people and to the representatives of the other sections.

In a few days, when I have the full report of the Central Committee, I shall send you the translation at once.

Azev was introduced into the Party by the founders of the organization in Russia, Gershuni among them. This Azev was considered the organizer of Von Plehve's assassination, and as such enjoyed great influence within the Party. Anonymous letters denounced him as early as 1905, to the Central Committee at St. Petersburg, and also another influential member of the Party named Tatarinov. A secret investigation resulted in absolute proofs against the latter, and he paid with his life for his infamous activity. As to Azev, no grounds for suspecting him were obtained.

In the winter of 1908, when the conspiracy of the "Italian" Calvino was discovered, and seven members of the Party men and women, were hanged, the rumors of provocative action were renewed against Azev. Some time before the last conference, held in London in August, 1908, this charge took more substantial form. A known Russian revolutionist, who was not a member of the Party, having received confidential information from a former agent of the secret police, considered it his duty to convey the information to the Central Committee, in the form of a formal accusation. A revolutionary tribunal was instituted, and the revolutionist summoned to lay his charges before it. The accusation was vague, but certain facts enabled the Central Committee to make an investigation at St. Petersburg, and in this way the truth was discovered. Serious resolutions were taken. Confronted with the proofs, Azev denied them completely. He demanded delay, to advance refutation. The delay was very brief. In the interval he disappeared.

The importance of these facts is immense. It is difficult to foresee what consequences they will have for the organization. At all events, I am informed that the Central Committee has decided to dissolve at once the Fighting Organization, and has virtually handed in to itself its collective resignation, only retaining the powers granted it by the Congress of 1907, until it can surrender them either to a Congress or to a Council.

But the difficulty of the situation lies in the impossibility, considering the triumph of the counter-revolution in Russia, and the condition of affairs generally, of calling together at once either a special Congress or a special Council.

The Central Committee can see nothing else to do but to remain at its post to insure the work of propaganda and organization.

Here, in haste, are the few points I can now give you; details in a few days. Fraternally yours,
E. Roubanovitch.

SPY AZEV'S DEEDS.

Paris, January 22.—Bourgeois papers are still adding fuel to the exposure made by the Central Committee of the Russian Socialist Revolutionists regarding the police spy, Azev, a member of the committee. The Paris "Journal" reports "that Azev received 14,000 rubles for his treacherous activity. All the acts of the last few years, with the exception of the assassination of the minister Siplagin and Duke Obelensky, were organized and planned by this agent provocateur. For the execution of deeds he picked the most sincere Terrorists from among the zealous adherents of the party, reporting them in advance to the police, and thereby sending them to a sure death. The secret police gave him 'carte blanche' regarding any assassination he might arrange as long as the same did not occur in St. Petersburg against the Czar and his ministers. He was told: 'Moscow you may raze to the ground.'"

The assassination of Governor of Ufa, Bogdanovitch, was planned by Gershuni, who died last year in Zurich, at Azev's instigation. The details of the plot, Azev reported to Mednikow, one of the shrewdest sleuths of the secret police, who at once went to Ufa in the hope of capturing the renowned Terrorist on the spot, and pocket the 10,000 rubles reward for Gershuni's arrest. But Gershuni had executed his deed before the hour advised by Azev. The detective received a dispatch from Azev in the train that the deed was done and Gershuni had escaped to Kiev, where he was arrested and incarcerated in the Schlüsselburg.

As reported before, the terroristic execution of Grand Duke Sergius must also be laid at the door of Azev, who acted in concert with the secret police. The Moscow police knew everything about the prearranged plot, knew the name of the bomb-thrower, Katajev, and all his accomplices, and step by step watched their doings. When the assassination was near its execution the naive Moscow police asked if it wasn't high time to call a halt to the "game," which they regarded as a "joke." But from higher up came the order: "Don't touch anybody!" A few hours later the Czar's uncle died through Katajev's bomb.

The London "Times" has also an interesting piece of news. It says: "The Minister of Police, Lopukine, felt endangered by the police clique, for which Azev was 'working,' and therefore personally informed the Revolutionists." It also publishes a dramatic conversation between Lopukine and Azev, who had heard of the intentions of the Minister of Police, and came to St. Petersburg to intimidate him. He was accompanied by the chief of the secret police, Gerasimov, who threatened the minister that "Plehve's fate would be his if he made further denunciations."

CALIFORNIA NOTES.

(Continued from page 1.)

the ladies' were more frequent among gentlemen of the cloth than among gentlemen of the turf. He filed statistics that bore out his contention with the committee. Barney Schreiber also made a breezy defense of the track. His defense consisted mainly of an attack on stock gambling and other financial manipulations. He contended that playing the ponies was a harmless amusement alongside of the others.

The Assembly turned down the "Woman Suffrage Bill." All the state leaders against the fair sex were retailed anew. "Can't go to war," "Break up the home," etc., etc. Here, as elsewhere, he it said in passing, the suffrage movement is in its academic and dilettante stage as yet.

Emma Goldman has been acquitted. The arrest and trial were merely an advertising dodge. It is to be regretted that many good Socialists were led away by their enthusiasm for unattached and abstract rights. It is high time that it be realized that Emma Goldman is aided and abetted in her disruptive tactics by the ruling class. H. L.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

FACTS AND FORCES THAT CENTERED AROUND HIM.

So great has grown the moral sentiment feature attending the abolition of negro slavery in this country that the economic or moving factor has well nigh been lost sight of; and strange to say one agency which impressed its moral sentiment most powerfully upon the movement has also been lost sight of. The slave holding South produced cotton, an agricultural product for which she had no home market. The best market for "King Cotton" was manufacturing England, and the cheapest market in which to buy agricultural tools, and other manufactured articles needed in the South, was England.

The North was also largely agricultural, but here manufacture was raising its head. The infant industries saw the South buying in England, and as early as 1828 they managed to get through a tariff protecting cotton, woolen and hempen goods, and of iron manufacturers. The Southern planters did not and that "the foreigner pays the tax." Their complaint was that Northern manufacture was being fostered at their expense.

Back and forth across the stage of national development these conflicting interests fought and struggled for the mastery. The South, though outnumbered by the North, was solidified. The North was not unified. The South maintained its prestige with considerable brilliancy. It prevented the admission of new free states unless an equal number of new slave states were admitted to preserve the balance. As early as 1832 threats of revolt came from the South. South Carolina and Georgia had, as states, formally protested against a tariff for protection as unconstitutional. South Carolina declared the tariff acts null and void, and announced that collection of customs duties within her borders was prohibited. It was declared that any attempt by the United States to enforce such collection would be deemed a dissolution of the Union. The compromise tariff of 1833, by which the duties of 1828 were to be reduced in ten years, by a sliding scale, to a general rate of 20 per cent. averted conflict.

Abraham Lincoln, who was destined to play such an important part in the country's history, was born in the South, though not belonging to the slave holding class, but to the class of poor whites. His paternal ancestors were Quakers, who went to Virginia from Berks county, Pennsylvania. Lincoln was born in Kentucky, a state, that while Southern, by giving its adhesion to the North became in a sense the keystone of the Union. The ease of communication along the Ohio River, and the mountaineer population had much to do in determining this. The motto on the seal of the State is: "United We Stand, Divided We Fall;" was it this motto that influenced Lincoln's famous "A house divided against itself cannot stand?"

In his eighth year the parents of Lincoln removed from Kentucky to Indiana, where he remained until twenty-one, going then to Illinois. As a young man Lincoln made a trading voyage to New Orleans on a flatboat. It is said that the sight of slaves chained, maltreated, and ogged at New Orleans was the origin of his deep convictions upon the slavery question. It is of more than passing interest to observe that Lincoln's Indiana home was within less than fifty miles of the site of Robert Owen's communistic colony of New Harmony, and it is not improbable that in navigating the Wabash Lincoln touched at the then flourishing port of New Harmony. He could not have been ignorant of the New Harmony movement, for there was nothing more talked of at that time.

Robert Dale Owen, eldest son of Robert Owen, entered with zeal into his father's experiments. On the failure of the community young Owen became associated with Frances Wright in the publication of a paper, the Free Enquirer, a weekly journal devoted to

the "socialistic" ideas of that period. The result of their agitation was political organizations all over the country, composed largely of workingmen, advocating among other things, "the abolition of chattel slavery and wage slavery." This is said to mark the first organized participation of workingmen in American politics, and had no small influence in developing the anti-slavery movement.

Robert Dale Owen was keenly in sympathy with the oppressed of every type. He too had seen the abuse of the slave, and like Lincoln, his spirit rose in revolt. He went so far as to try and rescue the slave and solve the whole question by a colonization scheme at Nashoba. Robert Dale Owen was elected for three successive years to the Indiana legislature, and to him more than to any other one man do we owe the common school system of the United States—one of the New Harmony community's cardinal doctrines of free education.

Neither Lincoln nor Owen were Abolitionists as the term was then used. Both were against slavery, to the bitter end, but they could not see how anything was to be accomplished through the Abolitionist policy of withdrawing from the field of political action. Both pinned their hope to colonization, to emancipation by purchase, to legislation, to the spread of humane ideas, but it was the South after all that determined the "how" of it.

After the breaking out of the war Robert Dale Owen was a warm champion of the policy of emancipation, and the letters which he addressed to members of the cabinet and the President were widely disseminated. The President was ready, but his cabinet hesitated. Both Lincoln and Owen were for the preservation of the Union, and they realized that the way to save it was to smash the institution of slavery by proclaiming the freedom of the slaves, and thus divorce from the South the labor that built its fortifications and fed its armies. But it was feared that to do this might alienate the border states and turn fifty thousand bayonets from union to rebel.

Mid-summer 1862 saw the Union cause in a deplorable state. On July 25, Lincoln issued a sixty-day notice calling upon the Southerners to lay down their arms. Lee responded by invading Maryland; then came the disaster of Bull Run; but on September 17, Lee was repulsed at Antietam and retired across the Potomac to Southern soil. That same day, which was six days before the President's sixty-day notice would expire, Robert Dale Owen wrote to Lincoln urging that he terminate the sixty-day warning by proclaiming the negro free.

As was expected the Southern States ignored the notice, and both North and South waited to see what Lincoln would do. Five days after the receipt of Owen's letter Lincoln issued the Preliminary Proclamation, September 22, 1862. This act was in the nature of a war-measure, based solely upon the President's authority as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, and is the most important document issued by a President of the United States.

Lincoln, in referring to Owen's letter, said: "Its perusal thrilled me like a trumpet-call." Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, writing to Owen, observed: "It will be a source of satisfaction to you to know that your letter to the President had more influence on him than any other document which reached him on the subject—I think I might say than all others put together. I speak of that which I know from personal conference with him." Thus through Robert Dale Owen did New Harmony's humanitarian sentiment eventually weigh down the scale when emancipation hung in the balance, but it was not before Northern capitalism was able to assert itself as the ruling class. J. H.

THE ATTENTION OF WORKINGMEN IS CALLED TO THE DAILY PEOPLE

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UNEMPLOYMENT CHRONIC

AN ADJUNCT TO CIVILIZATION, SAYS LECTURER.

Number Merely Varies a Little, Between Times of "Prosperity" and "Depression"—All Classes Affected by Present Lack of Work—Even Ministers and Supreme Court Judges in the Bread Line.

"Unemployment has now become chronic in all civilized countries," said Jules A. Guedon, in a recent address, which he delivered in New York before the Forum Class of Plymouth Church. "So much so, that unemployment might properly be considered as an inseparable part of modern social and industrial life: might almost be termed an institution, so characteristic is it of the society of the twentieth century." Guedon went on to say:

"The number of the unemployed is a variable quantity, never remaining stationary. It is least at those times we speak of as 'prosperity' and greatest when we have 'depressions,' such as we are now going through as the sequel of the 'late panic.'"

"In June, 1908, a few months after the 'late panic' the State Labor Bureau reported 35 per cent. of the organized workers in the State as idle. This is the month most favorable to employment, especially among the members of trade or craft unions."

"Estimates have been published from time to time, since the present depression set in, placing the number of unemployed in the United States at from 3,000,000 to 10,000,000."

"If, as is held by accepted authorities, every employed person represents a value to the community of \$1,000, then figuring this capitalized labor at a yearly interest of 6 per cent., would, if we estimate the unemployed at 6,000,000, represent a yearly loss to the nation of \$360,000,000, or more than \$1,000,000 for each working day. If the unemployed number more than 10 per cent. of the total number of workers the loss is still greater."

"Mr. Earl, who has charge of the labor bureau of the Bowery Mission, said: 'There are to-day in the city 200,000 workmen who are too proud to beg, and who are supported by their brothers and friends who have positions.'"

"Mr. Hunt, secretary of the Bowery Mission, stated that 60,000 men sleep every night in cheap lodging houses in the vicinity of the mission."

"In 1907, the last year of 'prosperity,' the St. Vincent de Paul Society of Brooklyn gave relief to 11,400 persons. This society gives aid to members of the Roman Catholic Church only after careful investigation and when immediate relief is necessary to prevent starvation."

"There are now seven bread lines in New York, a new one having been started recently in Harlem."

"Concerning the character of the unemployed, we have the statements of practically all the New York papers that two bread lines usually numbering 2,500, were reduced to 575 on the day that the city supplied many with work shovelling snow. A policeman at the Broadway bread line said: 'I have been here so long the bread line is an old story to me, but I have never seen any disorder in the line. I never saw a quarrel.'"

"Referring to the remark credited to Terence V. Powderly, formerly leader of the Knights of Labor, the same officer said: 'Any person can pick out Powderly's "bums." They are the men who have lost their nerve. Some of them—a very few—are brazen. Others have their heads on their breasts, and they'll never lift their again.'"

"Crooks," said the policeman with a laugh, in answer to a question, "Why, Lord bless you! What does a crook need to be in that line for? There isn't a man there who couldn't steal enough to get him a night's lodging and breakfast. At the worst, he'd only get caught and maybe get a few days in jail or a couple of months on the island. That would be better than standing here in the rain or the cold waiting for a loaf of stale bread."

"The policeman's attention being called to little bundles under the coats of some repeaters, he explained: 'They've got families—and there was a sort of huskiness in his throat. Chances are those fellows haven't eaten a bite all day. And they won't. They've been along the line and got a loaf, and that's what's sticking under their coats. They'll try to get another before the supply runs out. Then you'll see them start, almost on a run, for their homes, where a hungry wife and a couple of little ones are waiting for them.'"

"Hunt, secretary of the Bowery Mission, thinks the number seeking relief is increasing. The Mission's bread line now

numbers 2,000 nightly, one-third of whom are always new faces. What becomes of the third that disappears, or where the new faces come from no one at the Mission can explain."

"Every trade, profession, and calling is represented. Three-fourths are mechanics, union men in good standing with their unions. Many young farmers are of late appearing at the Mission, some are farm workers, others former proprietors of farms. The increase in the number of young men, men under twenty-five, is striking. Among the men now at the mission is a man formerly on the editorial staff of a city newspaper, a minister is another."

"For intellectuality," said Hunt, "they will equal any congregation to be found in any church in the city."

"The secretary then told me of an incident which occurred when Bishop Greer was addressing the men at the Bowery Mission. The Bishop had just quoted a bit of Greek, when a tattered individual arose in the audience, and addressed the speaker. 'Doctor, pardon me, sir, you have misplaced your verb.' The poor bread liner then corrected the bishop's construction, and translated the phrase. Bishop Greer is said to have been so astounded that his address was broken. Determined questioning brought out the admission from the man in rags that he had once been a Supreme Court judge."

"Most of the men who come to the mission, declared the secretary, are married men. When asked what becomes of their families, the secretary said: 'That is one of the mysteries of poverty. It is to be hoped these men haven't taken the President's theories on race suicide as practical advice.'"

"While we were talking a strongly built, square-shouldered man, with an honest, sober face, walked to the employment desk, politely lifted his cap, and whispered to the attendant. The attendant looked at the gray hair on his uncovered head, solemnly shook his own, saying: 'No use; they have refused work to every old man who went there.' The strong, muscular-looking old man turned without a word, replaced his cap, and with a vacant, hopeless stare, walked silently out of the door."

"Carlyle said: 'A man willing to work and unable to find work is, perhaps, the saddest sight that fortune's inequality exhibits under the sun.'"

SECTION CALENDAR.

Under this head we shall publish standing advertisements of Section headquarters, or other permanent announcements. The charge will be five dollars a year for five lines.

Section San Francisco, Cal., S. L. P. Headquarters, Hungarian Socialist Federation, Lettonian Socialist Labor Federation, 883 McAllister street.

Los Angeles, Cal., Headquarters and public reading room at 317 East Seventh street. Public educational meetings Sunday evenings. People readers are invited to our rooms and meetings.

fourth Thursday. German, Jewish and Wednesday and Sunday. Open every Hungarian educational meetings every Headquarters Section Cleveland, Ohio, S. L. P., meets every alternate Sunday at 1366 Ontario avenue, at 3 P. M.

Headquarters Section Cincinnati, O., S. L. P., at 1414 Race street. General Committee meets every second and night.

Section Allentown, Pa., S. L. P., meets every first Saturday in the month at 8 p. m. Headquarters, 815 Hamilton street.

Section Providence, R. I., 81 Dyer st., room 8. Regular meetings second and fourth Tuesdays of each month.

New Jersey State Executive Committee, S. L. P.—John Jossack, Secretary, 22 Fulton ave., Jersey City; Fred Gerold, Financial Secretary, 102 Waverly st., Jersey City, N. J.

Chicago, Illinois.—The 14th Ward Branch, Socialist Labor Party, meets every 1st and 3rd Sunday, 2 p. m. sharp, at Friedmann's Hall, s.e. corner Grand and Western avenues. Workingmen and women cordially invited.

Section Seattle, S. L. P. headquarters, free reading room and lecture hall, No. 2000 Second avenue. P. O. address, Box 1040.

All communications intended for the Minnesota S. E. C. should be addressed to Otto Olson, 310 7th ave., So. Minneapolis, Minn.

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The Woman Question is not a question by itself; it is a part of the great social problem. Proceeding along this line, Bebel's work is an exhaustive analysis of the economic position of woman in the past and present. Despite the boasts of Capitalism Christianity the facts show that under Capitalism woman, especially of the working class, is degraded and dwarfed physically and mentally, while the word home is but a mockery. From such condition of parenthood the child is stunted before its birth, and the miasmas, bred from woman's economic slavery, rise so high that even the glided houses of the capitalist class are polluted. Under Socialism, woman, having economic freedom equal with man, will develop mentally and physically, and the mentally and physically stunted and dwarfed children of the capitalist system will give way to a new race. The blow that breaks the chains of economic slavery from the workingman will free woman also.
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RAILWAY ACCIDENTS

Due to Desire for Dividends—Roads Are Aware of Faulty Arrangements.

The death and disability roll of the employees of our American railroads is a terrible indictment against the inhumanity of the service. That much of it is unnecessary is admitted by every practical railroad employee, but it has been going on for years without undue adverse comment from the public or the press, until the railroads have accepted this slaughter of their employees as one of their rights, a sort of vested one, as it were, in the lives and limbs of the men who care for the transportation service of the country.

Instead of catastrophe that spreads death and desolation over a limited territory in a moment and, therefore, draws to itself the full realization of the results, the death and disability roll, as shown by the report of the Commission, proves the never ending grind that continues day after day in every part of the country, but because of the isolated nature of the casualties, they are not noted as they would be if our press despatches announced that more than fifty thousand men had been killed or seriously injured at one go. Imagine, if you can, the terror it would take hold of the nation under stress of such news. Compare the daily reports of any great battle, and judge what this peaceful, industrial slaughter means to the nation.

The report of the Commission shows that during the period for which it was made, there were 3,807 killed and 55,254 injured while in the performance of their duties. What else need be said of the terrible industrial sacrifice demanded, or what greater evidence of the necessity for compelling the railroads to adopt every precaution for safety, and to set aside a certain part of their earnings to be used for the maintenance of the injured and the families of the killed? It would be fair, and no more than just to the employee.

As long as the death and disability list was more closely confined to the railway employees, the public did not give much heed to the dangers of the service. But contempt for danger as it applied to the employee has been lost by the gradual creeping in of greater danger to the passenger. He is commencing to sit up and take notice of it.

Practical railway employees, and by this we do not mean managers who are doing as their directors bid, but the men in the service, who are running engines and trains, have long been cognizant of the increasing dangers of railway operation. Their observations are made while performing their work on engines and trains, and while they may not be substantiated always by the usual technical and theoretical deductions that are common to the office, they are given with a practical knowledge of what equipment, speeds, tonnage and right of way will do, and what safely can be done with them.

The track is an important feature that is not given the attention it deserves. The one hundred pound rail has been in use for several years, the standard tie has not been increased in size, but engines, cars and train tons have increased almost double in weight since the one hundred pound rail became the standard. The limited trains have increased their speeds with few additional appliances being added for their safety.

The complaints are numerous to the effect that track maintenance is a lost art. On some roads the section foreman no longer has the right to say when a tie is unsafe. That work is done by an inspector who, usually, does not inspect. There are miles and miles of track patrolled by a foreman and one man, there are miles of it that are practically left without attention for a certain period of the year; that, too, during the worst season, while over all of this track mileage there is being rushed the heaviest freight and passenger business this country has ever known.

Engines and cars have been made larger and heavier, the tonnage has been doubled in the past ten years, but the track is about the same as it was when it cared for lighter equipment at a less speed rate per mile. The statement that steel rails were with defects that were certain to result in disaster is as yet unchallenged. The railway managers here coming to the front and saying that there is too much demand equipment; that tonnage and speed are excessive and yet, they are going the death pace.

There are many faulty rules and codes in train operation, particularly on single track lines. There are times when the employee is

thrown on his own resources, and must depend on his judgment. It is impossible to apply the half thousand regular and special rules now in vogue without causing confusion in the understanding of some of them.

The block system is another necessary adjunct to safer operation. When it is installed, if it is to do its work, it must be with the understanding that it is put there to be observed. Where railroads stand for its strict observance, and will not tolerate violations of rule, there are no violations and the system is reasonably safe.

There are not enough employees properly to inspect engines, cars and track. Railroads have economy in operation reduced to a dangerous science. There is not a "superfluous" man in the service; there are too few for safe operation. Freight trains are dangerously short handed. Two men for almost a mile of cars, and some of our trains reach almost that distance, is not a safe way to run freight trains, yet it is done. The men cannot work safely when switching. One man must do the work, one man must be back with the flag, and if anything out of the ordinary demands attention, the man who gives it his care must take a chance of neglecting something else. Railway managers will not admit this statement, but it is true and every railroad man in train service on slow or way freight will confirm it.

Expert neurologists do not hesitate to declare that long hours in positions of great responsibility are likely to result in brain strain, paralysis, epilepsy and nervous prostration. Men who are worn out, mentally and physically, cannot be trusted safely to perform the responsible work peculiar to this train and engine service. The railroads, aware of these facts, start men out on trips they know will consume anywhere from twenty-four or more hours. A law limiting railway men to sixteen hours continuous service was bitterly opposed by the railroads and though passed it will be fought by them through the courts before it becomes fully operative.

The railways of Europe operate with a yearly casualty list that ought to make us realize what can be done. They employ three times as many men to the mile as our roads do, and no one can deny they contribute to safety. With our railways, it is the practice to meet every increased cost of operation by a reduction in the operating force.

The American railway managers are, as a rule, practical railway men. They are capable and understand their business, and it is not entirely their fault that affairs are as they are. It is the fault of the financial system that demands dividends first, for if the managers cannot get financial returns that experts theoretically show the boards of directors they ought to get, they will be side-tracked to make room for the men who think they can "D. L. Cease in 'Charities and Commons.'"

AS TO "VICTORIES."

There is No Victory for the Workingman but His Total Emancipation.

The morning after the election: Wage slave (driving scavenging cart) to S. L. P. man: See, we put our man in. A grand victory, wasn't it?

S. L. P. man: Yes—for him; not for you. You are still driving the refuse cart, and will be allowed to do so while you remain cheap and behave yourself. Have another think, wage slave.

Wage slave driver: Blast it! (scratching his head). You are never satisfied. What do you want?

S. L. P. man: The lot, and nothing short of it. Driver (looking up suddenly and wearing an anxious expression): Look out! Here comes the boss!

S. L. P. man with a smile: Your grand victory hasn't removed the boss.

The workers' victory is not yet. A man who can see a working class victory in the election of a politician to administer the capitalist state is in need of a new thinking apparatus. When Socialism is achieved the workers can truly say: "A grand victory." Those who desire to see achieved the grandest victory of the ages, should join the active firing line of the Socialist army and go their share of the battling. Socialism requires men and women with sincerity, honesty, continuity, persistency, and determination. There is some distance to travel yet.

\$1.00 BOOKS.

Physical Basis of Mind and Morals, Fitch.
Socialism and Philosophy, Labriola.
Essays Materialistic Conception of History, Labriola.

WOMAN AT HOME AND AT WORK

IS WOMAN IN THE HOUSE MORE OF A SLAVE THAN WOMAN IN INDUSTRY?

By Mary Solomon, New York.

It is granted by Socialists that under the present system women as well as men are slaves. We will leave men aside and for a moment concern ourselves only with women. We are not going to consider the working woman. The question before us is whether woman in the home is more of a slave than woman in industry.

When industries were carried on in the home and woman was sole supervisor, there could be no such question; there was no apparent choice. With the introduction and development of machinery, the industries were gradually taken out of the home. Production began to be carried on co-operatively. Then the question arose whether woman should leave the home and follow the industries. Now the question is settled. Women are employed in most every industry. But there were some rudiments of the industries left in the home, and woman is still chained to them. When we speak of woman in the home we do not mean the young and unmarried women living with their parents; we mean a working woman whose husband goes out to earn a living for the family and provide for home.

It is claimed by the upholders of the present system that marriage as it is today is ideal; that man and wife are partners and achieve the best through division of labor. That is, while the man goes out into industries to earn money, woman stays in the home to spend it. They think it only natural for unmarried women to leave home and go out to work, but it is most unnatural for married women to leave home and go out into industries. Of course, the unnatural generally means the uncanny; everything usual appears natural.

We will consider the working woman in industry first. We are not concerned now with whether conditions have forced her out to work or whether it is simply choice. She must rise early, swallow her breakfast and rush out; but her hours of work are limited. The evening is her own. She is free. She can go to the theatre and other amusements; to lectures and to the library. What she earns for her week's work is her own. She can spend the money whatever way she likes. If she is fond of dress and luxuries she can buy them. If she prefers books and study and debates and discussions there is no one to keep her from enjoying them. When she grows dissatisfied with one kind of work or with a master she can easily change both work and master. It is no sin nor disgrace. She may perhaps be lonely, but not miserable. If she earns enough to save, she may entertain hope to be independent in old age. Of course, we are now supposing that this woman always finds work and earns enough to live, not aristocratic, but decent.

For the sake of exact comparison we will take an example of a woman from an average workingman's home. I have before me a picture of a workingwoman in her home. She is portrayed in six positions. With sleeves rolled up above

her elbows she stands over the wash-tub washing. She has turned around and I see her at the board ironing. In a short time she is on the floor scrubbing. A little while later she rushes into the kitchen to attend to the cooking. She sits down to make baby's dresses. Before dusk she is out with the baby in the carriage. Quite a luxury. No one will deny that this is a true picture of a working woman in the house.

Supporters of the present system claim that they don't want protection for women. Women are supposed to be the weaker sex. They will not let women go out to work in one industry but they will keep her home where she has at least five industries to attend to, washing, ironing, cooking, general housecleaning, sewing, and last, not least—nay, the most important of all—the rearing of children. If there is love and harmony between the workingman and his wife then the burden on her is certainly lightened. But if as is natural with an overworked man, the husband makes home the place to give vent to his temper and whims and expect to be pleased and obeyed, the woman surely is a martyr.

Woman in the home works unlimited time, almost never gets rest or reward. She cannot afford to dislike the work or get tired of her husband. She is even deprived of the advantage woman in industry has, that of changing masters freely. Woman in the home is not at all emancipated and she has no right to look down upon woman in industry as a slave. Of the two, the woman in the home is the more miserable and helpless slave. Let it be remembered that these are the mildest examples of the two forms of woman slavery.

No consideration has been given to the fact that the position of woman in industry, like the position of all workers, is precarious. Her employment or unemployment depends on whether there is a great demand for the commodity she produces; whether that commodity can be safely produced and yield profits, and on the supply of labor in the labor market. Indirectly, the woman in the home is subject to the same laws.

The only way to remove any form of slavery is to strike at the root of the evil. We know that more than heredity, environment affects man's and woman's character, morals and ethics. By removing the cause we strike at the effect. Capitalism is the father of wage slavery. One form of slavery has its reflection and effects on another form. To abolish slavery, we must first abolish the system which makes the existence of slavery possible. Morality, ethics, religion will not flourish or have a good effect on people whose material conditions do not enable them to live up to their ideal. The economic question solved, the solution of subsidiary religious and moral questions will surely follow.

No count of impudence, abuse or scolding will better society. Let both the women in industry and women in the home awaken to their interests, stand up and demand their right to live and be free. During this year let the cause of Socialism be strengthened by at least fifty thousand good and earnest women, determined to lend a helping hand in the noble endeavor to uplift Humanity.

HORACE GREELEY.

The noted American politician and journalist, Horace Greeley, was born at Amherst, N. H., February 3, 1811.

He received very little schooling, his parents being poor, and at the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a printer. He went to New York in 1831 as a compositor and in this same year, together with F. V. Strong and H. D. Shepard, he started the "Morning Post," said to have been the first two-cent daily published.

In 1834 he established a weekly paper, "The New Yorker"; from 1838-39 he edited "The Jeffersonian," published in Albany; and in 1840 he edited "The Log Cabin."

In April, 1841, he united these papers and founded the "New York Tribune," a very influential paper, the first issue of which appeared April 10, 1841.

He was at first a Whig, but later became one of the founders of the Republican party and he worked against slavery.

Greeley served in Congress, filling a vacancy, from December 18, 1848, to March 4, 1849.

He was a very liberal minded man and he opened the columns of his paper to many new ideas, and was ever willing to hear both sides of a question.

In 1872 he was candidate for President for the liberal-Republicans and Democrats, but was defeated by Grant.

This was a severe blow which hastened his death. He died at Pleasantville, N. Y., November 29, 1872.

Among his writings are, "Hints Toward Reform"; "History of the Struggle for Slavery Extension"; "Overland Journey to San Francisco"; "The American Conflict"; "Essays Designed to Elucidate the Science of Political Economy"; "Glances at Europe"; and "What I Know About Farming."

For biographical matter read his autobiography, "Recollections of a Busy Life"; Parton's "Life of Horace Greeley"; Reavis' "Life of Horace Greeley"; and also that by Ingersoll.

Below are a few extracts from his writings.

"I understand by Slavery that condition in which one human being exists as a convenience for other human beings—in which the time, the exertions, the faculty of a part of the human family are made to subserve, not their own development, physical, intellectual and moral, but the comfort, advantage, or caprices of others."

"I stand here, friends, to urge that a new leaf be turned over—that the labor class, instead of idly and blindly waiting for better circumstances and better times, shall begin at once to consider and discuss the means of controlling circumstances, and commanding times, by study, calculation, foresight and union."

"The avocations of Life, the usages and structure of Society, the relations of Power to Humanity, of Wealth to Poverty, of Servant to Master, must all be fused in the crucible of Human Brotherhood, and whatever abides not the test, rejected. Vainly will any seek to escape or avert the ordeal—idly will any hope to preserve from it some darling lust or pampered luxury or vanity. Onward, upward, irresistibly, shall move the Spirit of Reform, abasing the proud, exalting the lowly, until Sloth and Selfishness, Tyranny and Slavery, Waste and Want, Ignorance and Corruption, shall be swept from the face of the earth, and a golden age of Knowledge, of Virtue, of Plenty, and Happiness, shall dawn upon our sinning and suffering Race. Heaven speed its glorious coming and prepare us to welcome and enjoy it."

"Truth's service is necessarily one of privation and suffering. . . . The true soldiers never choose it as the way to ease, of ambition, or from any selfish consideration whatever, but because it is the way of Right."

"I cannot forget that the Laboring Class, so-called, must, like any other, stand up for its own rights, or be content to see them trampled underfoot; and that the strength given it by organization, superinduced upon numbers, is its only effectual defence against the else unchecked tyranny of Capital, eager for profit and reckless of other's rights. The power developed by combination may be abused, like any other power; but Labor is helpless and a prey without it."

NEW BUTTONS.

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We also have a new supply of the red celluloid button, at five cents.

The bronze button at 50 cents. New York Labor News Co., 28 City Hall Place, New York.

PLATFORM

Adopted at the National Convention of the Socialist Labor Party, July, 1904, and Re-adopted at the National Convention, July, 1908.

The Socialist Labor Party of America, in convention assembled, reasserts the inalienable right of man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

We hold that the purpose of government is to secure to every citizen the enjoyment of this right; but taught by experience we hold furthermore that such right is illusory to the majority of the people, to wit, the working class, under the present system of economic inequality that is essentially destructive of THEIR life, THEIR liberty and THEIR happiness.

We hold that the true theory of politics is that the machinery of government must be controlled by the whole people; but again taught by experience we hold furthermore that the true theory of economics is that the means of production must likewise be owned, operated and controlled by the people in common. Man cannot exercise his right of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness without the ownership of the land on and the tool with which to work. Deprived of these, his life, his liberty and his fate fall into the hands of the class that owns those essentials for work and production.

We hold that the existing contradiction between the theory of democratic government and the fact of a despotic economic system—the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities—divides the people into two classes: the Capitalist Class and the Working Class; throws society into the convulsions of the Class Struggle; and perverts government to the exclusive benefit of the Capitalist Class.

Thus labor is robbed of the wealth which it alone produces, is denied the means of self-employment, and, by compulsory idleness in wage slavery, is even deprived of the necessities of life.

Against such a system the Socialist Labor Party raises the banner of revolt, and demands the unconditional surrender of the Capitalist Class.

The time is fast coming when in the natural course of social evolution, this system, through the destructive action of its failures and crises, on the one hand, and the constructive tendencies of its trusts and other capitalist combinations, on the other hand, will have worked out its own downfall.

We, therefore, call upon the wage workers of America to organize under the banner of the Socialist Labor Party into a class conscious body, aware of its rights and determined to conquer them.

And we also call upon all other intelligent citizens to place themselves squarely upon the ground of Working Class interests, and join us in this mighty and noble work of human emancipation, so that we may put summary end to the existing barbarous class conflict by placing the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution into the hands of the people as a collective body, and substituting the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder—a commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

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A FASCINATING work, thrilling as fiction, yet embracing a comprehensive history of the oppressing and oppressed classes from the commencement of the present era.

Eugene Sue wrote a romance which seems to have disappeared in a curious fashion, called "Les Mysteres du Peuple." It is the story of a Gallic family through the ages, told in successive episodes, and, so far as we have been able to read it, is fully as interesting as "The Wandering Jew" or "The Mysteries of Paris." The French edition is pretty hard to find, and only parts have been translated into English. We don't know the reason. One medieval episode, telling of the struggle of the communes for freedom is now translated by Mr. Daniel De Leon, under the title, "The Pilgrim's Shell" (New York Labor News Co.). We trust the success of his effort may be such as to lead him to translate the rest of the romance. It will be the first time the feat has been done in English.—N. Y. Sun.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 13, 1939.

And inasmuch as most things are produced
by labor, it follows that all such
things of right belong to those whose
labor has produced them. But it has so
happened, in all ages of the world, that
some have labored, and others have with-
out labor enjoyed a large proportion of
the fruits. This is wrong, and should
not continue. To secure to each laborer
the whole product of his labor, or as
nearly as possible, is a worthy object of
any good government.

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

A WRONG TOLERATED IS A WRONG ENCOURAGED.

Gompers's "Federationist" for this
month contains a fifteen-page article by
himself, Mitchell and Morrison entitled
"The Decision Reviewed." The proper
title would have been "Mea Culpa" (Ours
the fault).

The allegation is therein made, and the
facts bear out the allegation, that,
as soon as the injunction of Judge Gould
became operative, the name of the Buck
Stove and Range Company was taken
from the "We Don't Patronize List," and
that "from that time until this the name
of the company has not appeared there-
in."

The long process that followed, the
final trial before Judge Wright, and
Judge Wright's sentence—all become
plain after that statement in "The Fed-
erationist." All those succeeding steps
are logical sequences the one from the
other, the first being the inevitable re-
sult of Gompers's conduct—obedience to
an order that was illegal, the Court hav-
ing no power to issue it. This by no
means cures the iniquity of Judge
Wright's subsequent conduct; it never-
theless explains it. Gompers invited the
act.

There is no simpler way of inviting
a wrong than to tolerate it, unless it be
submission itself. This simplest of means
was adopted by Gompers. Not only did
he tolerate the wrong done by Judge
Gould in ordering the publisher of a pa-
per not to publish a fact—not only did
Gompers do that, he bowed before such
an illegal order, he struck out of his
publication the truth, the fact that the
Buck Stove and Range Company was not
patronized by the A. F. of L.

Having tolerated, and gone even fur-
ther, submitted to a wrong, what else
could Gompers expect but another
wrong?

It matters not how illegal Judge
Wright's decision be. To fasten the pub-
lic eye upon that exclusively is harmful.
While one eye should be steadily kept
upon an act, Judge Wright's, that cries
aloud for impeachment by Congress, the
other eye should not be removed from
that act, Gompers's, which as loudly
calls for impeachment by the Working
Class.

Gompers's submission to a judicial
wrong has encouraged a flood of further
judicial misdeeds against the proletari-
at of the land.

SENATOR BACON'S TRAGIC (COM-
IC) AMENDMENT.

Gustave Dore, the talented artist who
illustrated Dante's "Inferno," the Bible,
Poe's "Raven," and many another work
of tragic import, on one occasion in-
dulged a vein of humor that he was not
suspected of. He illustrated a condensed
History of Russia. From start to finish
this work keeps one roaring. Among the
cartoons there is one which, in due chro-
nological order, reproduces an episode in
Russian history when the numerous
heirs in line of succession to the throne,
being impatient to "get there," fired off
one another as fast as seated. The car-
toon represents a throne, and, in a line
curving over the throne, the string of
heirs are seen, kicking each other off,
each heir having the toe of his boot
planted against the back of the pants of
the one before him, and himself treated
in the same fashion by the one behind.

Senator Bacon of Georgia is preparing
material for some coming Dore of later

days' American history.

As things now stand, by an Act of
the 43rd Congress, in case the seat of
both the President and the Vice Presi-
dent is vacant, the line of presidential
succession is to run from Cabinet officer
to Cabinet officer in specified order, be-
ginning with the Secretary of State.
This Act, accordingly, creates, outside of
the Vice President, nine possible succe-
ssive heirs to the President. Together
with the Vice President, that makes ten.
The number does not seem plentiful
enough to Senator Bacon. He has pro-
posed an amendment to the Constitu-
tion, and the amendment has been fa-
vorably reported by the Senate Commit-
tee on the Judiciary, permitting Con-
gress by law to provide the manner of
succession where there is no person en-
titled to hold the office of President or
Vice President. The purport of the
amendment is to provide for an heir to
the Presidency beyond the limited num-
ber of nine, and make the number of
heirs as numerous as it is in a monarchy,
where, in default of a near heir, remote-
ly collateral ones may be "hit by light-
ning"—or set up as "pretenders," if the
maggot so bites them.

That this is a "long look ahead," born
of the anguish that obsesses the pluto-
cratic heart, is transparent. All the
same, while the Bacons are seeking to
guard against possible danger from one
quarter, are they not positively inviting
danger from another?

Already Congress has de facto ceased
to represent territorial demarcations.
Already Senators and Representatives are,
in fact, representatives of industrial
"interests"—"interests," for short; con-
flicting "interests," as a matter of
course, each straining to the top.

Imagine such a collection of buccan-
ers with power to determine a line of
succession for the Presidency! The "Act
of Settlement," that would be born of
the log-rolling among them, would only
be a prelude—to what? To just such a
performance as Dore cartooned. The
only difference would be that, instead of
Grand Duke Vladimirovitch kicking out
Arch Duke Rodkourkolineff, and being
himself, in turn, kicked out by Grand
Duchess Katerinoslavitch—instead of
that, we would witness the spectacle of
Iron Prince This, driving off Railroad
Count That, and himself fleeing before
Bank Marquis This-That, who, in turn,
is hotly pursued by Viscount Liqueur
That-This, after whose scalp Baron
Smelting Ore Bigamajig would be seen
rushing "with burlesque in his eye"; and
so on.

Senator Bacon's plan is fraught with
tragic-comic prospects—unless the dan-
ger that he is purblindly and fatuously
seeking to guard against overwhelm him,
and the Working Class, united upon
the political as well as the industrial
field, put a summary kibosh upon the
political tinkering.

NEVADA BY HER GUNS.

There is quite an outcry from Wash-
ington against the Nevada Legislature
for the resolution it proposed, and even
for the amended one which it adopted
in the matter of the Japanese.

Even the amended resolution, it is
correctly said, "pays scant respect to
the President." Such a passage, for
instance, as "we recommend to the
State of California to pay no attention
whatever to the admonition of the
President, but to go ahead and enact
such stringent measures as will abso-
lutely stop forthwith the encroachment
of the Japanese," is said, correctly
enough, to imply treason to the con-
stitution, which vests in Congress the
power to legislate in certain matters,
and which recognizes treaties as the
supreme law of the land, subject to be
abrogated by no lesser powers than
those who enact them. All this is
correct enough, but falls wide of the
mark, being only half the truth.

The power to issue money, etc., is no
less a national prerogative than the
power to conclude treaties. Neverthe-
less, it was not much more than a year
ago that a body of men in Nevada,
inferior even to the Legislature of the
State, to wit the mine owners of Gold-
field, took it upon themselves to issue
money; they "paid" their employees
with scrip; and, when these gagged,
then the self-appointed money-issuers
declared "Law," "Order," "Religion,"
the "Family," to say nothing of "Pa-
triotism," were assailed; and they ap-
pealed to Washington for protection to
"Law," "Order," etc. The echoes of the
appeal eastward were still reverberating
along the hollows of the eastern hills
when the hollows of the western hills
of the State became vocal to the tramp
of the military. Federal troops, ordered
from Washington to proceed at the
double quick from California to the
rescue of "Law," "Order," "Religion,"
etc.

If individual mine owners of Nevada,
not elected by anybody whatever, may
set themselves above the Constitution,
and obtain from Washington the back-
ing of the mailed hand, why should
not the collective body of elected repre-
sentatives of the State in parliament-
ary language tell the President to go

to—?

The breach of a dozen treaties with
Japan, or any other country, by a State
Legislature can not begin to have the
demoralizing effect of private mints.
Congress yanked dozingly at the latter,
why start at the former? Why this
swallowing of a camel and straining
at a gnat?

Go it, Nevada, for all you are worth!

"DIRECT NOMINATIONS" AGAIN.

With hardly an exception the leading
journals of the State are in favor of
what is called Gov. Hughes's "direct nom-
ination" plan. They are more than in
favor; they are enthusiastic. So en-
thusiastic are they that it is more than
likely they will spoil their broth.

It may seem a wild conclusion, yet the
fact is true that much of the steam be-
hind the "Hughes plan" is nothing but
a newspaper-stock bulging scheme.
Of course, as was explained last week
in these columns, the "direct nomination"
plan is a move to retrench expenses. As
things now are, the capitalist, who can
not live without the proper political
prop, has to incur large disbursements
to the political "boss." The capitalist,
ever on the alert to reduce the tax upon
his plunder from Labor, seeks to "get
there" without the "boss." "Direct nom-
inations" will do the trick. All that is
true; but it is not the whole truth.

In a loose way capitalists have been
called Anarchists. In essence the capi-
talist is no Anarchist. He not only be-
lieves in centralized government, he knows
the thing is necessary. He knows that
the days of the "New England town
meeting" are gone by. He knows that
direct government is possible only at the
stage of small communities; and that,
in the measure a community extends and
expands, direct government is a physical
impossibility. A hundred, perhaps a
thousand men may gather and confer;
five thousand can not; still less five mil-
lion or more. Where direct government
ceases, there intermediary, or indirect,
or representative government begins, must
begin.

Leadership, or headship, or bossship
flows inevitably from indirect govern-
ment. Between "leadership" and "boss-
ship" there is only the difference that
exists between "reverence" and "impi-
ety." Impiety has been well defined as
"irreverence toward my deity." It is the
other fellow who is "impious." So with
"bossism." A "boss" may be defined as
"a fellow who will not accept my leader-
ship." When the capitalist fires at a
fellow the epithet "boss" he must by
no means be supposed to be an ass who
denies the necessity and inevitableness of
leadership. He simply objects to some
one else's leadership, to a leadership that
will cost him money, whereas his own
leadership will save him cash.

It follows that the capitalist, up his
arms against the political "boss," is
simply striving to set up a leadership to
his liking. Leadership being necessary,
where masses are concerned, who else is
there to step into the shoes of the politi-
cal "boss" but the newspaper, whose
privately owned editorial powers already
now presume to speak for "the public."
Nominations being made directly by a
people many thousands in number, the
power of the political "boss" would be
gone, but his mantle would drop upon
the newspaper. The consequence is ob-
vious. The newspapers would become of
vastly more importance. Their owner-
ship would be striven after more than at
present. Newspaper stock would go up.

No wonder most newspapers are delir-
ious for "direct nominations" and pro-
nounce Gov. Hughes their prophet. They
are bulging their stock.

\$-LESS STOCK.

It is no new suggestion which has
been made by its special committee to
the New York Bar Association, on how
to prevent fraudulent stock promotion.
Abolish the money denomination, or
par value, on stock certificates, says
the committee, and thus prevent the
deception of investors.

Except as a bit of comedy, no such
law will ever be passed. Laws are
not made for kindergarten children,
but for men, and no man to-day but
already knows what the law would at-
tempt to make clear, namely that there
is no necessary connection between
the "face value" of stock and its sell-
ing price.

Nobody but a kindergarten infant to-
day believes that a \$100 share of stock
represents a value of \$100. What it
represents is the right to a certain
fraction, "a one-thousandth, or one-
millionth or other fraction according to
the number of shares" of the wealth
extracted by the concern issuing it, out
of its workingmen.

To illustrate. Say a stock certificate
bears the legend "\$100." If the total
"capitalization" of the company be
\$1,000, the \$100 stock represents the
right to 100-1000ths, or 1-10th of the
company's "profits."

If the company be capitalized at
\$100,000, the same \$100 share of stock
would represent the right to only 100-
100,000ths, or 1-1000th of the profits;
while another \$100 share may represent
a larger fraction than either of these.

If the total capitalization be, say, \$500.

Stock being nothing but so much
cheaply printed paper, it has practical-
ly no value. But it may have price,
and a great price. That price depends
upon the amount of "dividends" the
concern is paying, i. e., how much it is
robbing its employees of. Only recently
Union Pacific was selling on the
New York Exchange at \$180 per \$100
share; at the same time Quicksilver
could fetch only \$3.50. A strike of its
workmen, or a Supreme Court decision
against it may send a company's stock
tumbling down; let it call in U. S.
troops against the strikers, or get out
an injunction forbidding itself to obey
the decision, and lo, the stocks "tally."
All of which is only the veriest
A-B-C of stock jobbing.

THE STIR IN FRANKLIN.

A great stir is reported to have been
caused in Franklin, Pa., by reason of
the revelations made by the investiga-
tion of the charity officials, a goodly
batch of whom are now indicted.

Several of the worthies are charged
with assault and battery committed
upon the poor under their charge; some
others are charged with larceny and
receiving stolen goods; most of them are
charged in addition with "other serious
crimes."

The reports from Franklin add naively
that most of the accused are "people of
prominence" in the place—hence the
greatness of the stir.

Spring is not so far away. Quite
near is the season when children, roam-
ing over meadows and woodlands, will
accidentally, or for sport, raise a log
of yood or roll a stone from its place,
whereupon forthwith there will be "a
great stir among them." The displaced
log or stone will reveal to the young-
sters, the unexpected sight of a vast
number of insects, bugs, and worms,
that have been nesting over winter un-
der shelter of the protection just re-
moved from over them.

The people who are reported "stirred"
in Franklin are, sociologically, at the
infant stage—the stage of little tots
who marvel at the discoveries they make
in the spring.

There is not a social log or stone one
may turn but will reveal a vast number
of social vermin sheltered, thriving in
vermin style. Whether the stone or log
be an insurance company, a bank, a gov-
ernment land agency, a Trinity Church
Corporation, a Congress, an Executive,
or a charity organization, so-called, mat-
ters not. Vermin will ever be uncovered.
Nor will the "stirs" come to end until
the uncoverer be that sweeping Social
Revolution, which, handled by the Work-
ing Class united on the political as well
as the industrial field, will put an end
to the inevitableness of the social ver-
min, the same as physical cleanliness
put an end for all time to the one time
inevitable Pest microbe.

It all depends upon where and how
a thing is done. A couple of years ago,
when workmen marched through the
streets of New York singing and play-
ing the Marseillaise, "Seditious!" "For-
eign battle cry!" "Anthem of mas-
sacre!" howled the papers. Yet on
January 30 at the French Benevo-
lent Society's benefit in the Metropol-
itan Opera House, when the revolution-
ary hymn was sung, the same class
which owns these papers rose in their
seats and applauded.

Swallowing a camel and straining at
a gnat is the posture of the "German
Trades Unions of Philadelphia," who are
reported to be up in arms against the
Czar for having caused the death of one
of their members, Fritz Strombach. The
"Philadelphia German Trades Unions,"
though they occasionally spout Social-
ism, habitually plump their votes for the
upper capitalist class which causes
daily more workers' blood to flow than
does the Czar monthly. 'Tis true the
"German Trades Unions of Philadelphia"
may cite, in extenuation of their conduct,
the example of Editor Werner of the
Philadelphia Socialist (?) "Tageblatt." But
extenuation is not justification.

"Gee, whiz!" Senator Borah of Idaho
have exclaimed at the tidings of the
indictment of Roosevelt's enemy,
Gov. Haskell of Oklahoma by the Federal
Grand Jury for land frauds. "Gee,
whiz! Ain't I lucky to have been a
friend of the President's when similar
charges were brought against me!"

CITY SUPPORTS 30,000 POOR CHIL-
DREN.

Comptroller Metz declares the city
is supporting an abnormal percentage
of the dependent children of the coun-
try. "There are ninety odd thousand
such children in the United States,"
said the Comptroller, "and of these
New York city supports over 30,000,
or 33 1-3 per cent. The population of
the country is about 80,000,000, of
which New York contains 4,000,000, or
five per cent."

"About sixty institutions, under
forty-eight titles, are maintained in
this city for the care of these depen-
dent children, and the cost is not less
than \$5,000,000 a year."

SUBVERTING THE MOVEMENT

"APPEAL TO REASON" PERMITS ADVERTISER TO PREACH UTOPIAN-
ISM THROUGH ITS COLUMNS.

To the South, to the South, let us all
turn and flee,
With a ten-acre farm there, we all may
be free.

—Two Hoss Songs of Freedom.
When capitalism was in its infancy
in this country there was always the
possibility of "escape" to the land. In
those days he who had land had all
that was needed to live. To-day such
"natural opportunity" no longer suffices
for freedom. The land holder who is
without capital is as badly off as he
who has neither. To-day such a one
we say is "land poor."

Socialists look for the Golden Age
as yet to come; most others think of
the Golden Age as a time in the past.
America's Golden Age of the past was
when land was "free." Those traditions
are not yet dead. They have bottomed
the long line of American utopian com-
munities, all founded on land, and in
our time we have seen even Eugene V.
Debs advocating such colonization
schemes, though he long since gave it
over, much though he hated to admit
that the S. L. P. was right in its criti-
cism of his chimera.

That the traditions of the time, when
the ownership of land afforded freedom,
are not yet dead, as evidenced on every
hand. Despite the fact that thousands
upon thousands of farms are mortgaged
and dragging down their "owners" hope
springs eternal in the breasts of thou-
sands of others that emancipation lies
via land ownership. Utopians renew
the cry: "Back to the land!" thus aid-
ing in making all the more easy the
victims for real estate promoters, rail-
road interests, and money lenders.

Assured that the land can be paid
for from the first year's crop, the vic-
tims usually wind up with finding even
their growing crops mortgaged, and
themselves enslaved body and soul.
Thus ends the delusion, that land own-
ership means freedom, to which for one
reason or another they had suc-
cumbed.

When the Socialist sees these land
schemes being promoted by capitalist
agencies he accepts it as a matter of
course; doing his best the meanwhile
to warn against any imagining that by
such means can they lift themselves
out of capitalist surroundings. What
are we to say then when we find a pa-
per, claiming to be Socialist, opening its
columns to glowing advertisements as-
serting that fortunes may be made
from pinyon farms in Florida!

Should you contemplate lifting your-
self by the boot straps, here is the
chance, at 17 cents, 34 cents, or 68 cents
a day. How long it will take one to
purchase his "freedom," or "farm," at
these rates the ad. sayeth not. The
time may be as determinate as the time
limit of some of Mr. Wayland's own
contests.

I have heard S. P. men declare that
Wayland's "Appeal to Reason," what-
ever its shortcomings, did "good work."
It plows the ground, is their argument.
Its scratching of the ground may be
dignified by calling it plowing; but 'tis
very primitive plowing at best.

But grant that its chicken scratching
is of some benefit, here we have it
entirely obliterated by itself admitting
an ad. to its columns that not only
kicks its "socialism" in the face; but
flies in the face of common every day
facts.

What sense is there in the "Appeal"
denouncing the injustice of one man
holding 14,000,000 acres in California;
of finding fault with court decisions in
labor union cases; of shooting its
squibs and firecrackers at this, that
and the other evil, while at the same
time permitting a spread eagle ad. that
by inference, direct and indirect, de-
clares that there is an easy "way out"
from all such misery and injustice?

The ad. in question appears in the
"Appeal" of January 30, 1939. It is
made of excerpts from a capitalist
magazine article on: "The New Flori-
da," written by Herbert N. Casson,
"one of the greatest writers in the
United States," we are told. Mr.
Casson's pen, we may add, is devoted
to booming things capitalist.

Florida, according to Mr. Casson, is
the land of the blessed. Listen, while
he sings: "Perhaps no other region, in
any part of the world, can show so
happy a blending of the joy of life
with the business energy that creates
material progress and modern civiliza-
tion."

"Men are now finding gold in Florida
—not in mines, but in the forests,
farms, fisheries and factories."
"Flagler has faith in Florida;" no
doubt of it, he is one of the leading
capitalists of the State. Plant, and
other capitalists, "have seen this vision
of the future Florida!" yes, and where
their vision shows unbounded wealth,
for them, we also see, despite all the
word pictures Mr. Casson may give us

of the glories of Florida, we see the
unbounded misery for the producers of
that wealth that capitalist production
implies.

"Nature plays the tune of life in
Florida with her foot on the soft pedal;"
but under capitalism climatic and other
like advantages simply permit of great-
er robbery of the workers. It is no
fortunate that labor conditions are worst
in the sunny South.

Throughout its two column length
the "Appeal to Reason" ad. descants
most eloquently on the wealth produced
in Florida. Last year fruit and vegeta-
ble alone exceeded in value the year's
output of gold in Nevada and Arizona;
then there are cotton, tobacco, lumber,
gum, phosphate and the tourist trade;
so that "the people who now live in
Florida," says Mr. Casson, "have a
yearly income of more than one hun-
dred and twenty-five million dollars."
Pretty good, this, considering that the
population of Florida, as estimated by
its Governor on January 1, 1939, is but
683,000.

Of course, the ad. does not say in
what few hands is the great bulk of
this wealth; that would defeat the pur-
pose of the ad., which is to impress
the unsophisticated with the idea that
by going to Florida and taking up a
ten or twenty acre farm they can get
a whack at that one hundred and twen-
ty-five million a year income.

There must be some hitch, some-
where, though, for we find in spite of
life in Florida being: "Each day like a
melody from Mozart," as the "Appeal"
ad. declares, that 3,747 Floridians found
conditions irksome enough to cause
them to vote for Debs.

I have gone into this matter some-
what in detail as I realize that many
well-meaning people are booming the
"Appeal," and I would ask all such to
consider the importance of a Socialist
paper keeping its columns free from
ads. that fly in the face of Socialist
philosophy and fact. Were the gen-
eral happiness, pictured in this "Ap-
peal" ad. possible in Florida it would
be possible everywhere else. If the ad.
states truth, then the "Appeal's" other
columns are nothing but vapors.

Mr. Wayland used to pride himself
that the "Appeal" carried no com-
mercial advertising. Perhaps in those days
he couldn't get it, but you "boomers"
have made the "Appeal's" "300,000"
circulation of value to advertisers, who
now place even full page announce-
ments in the paper. It is up to you
to see to it that there be no reaping
of funds by such nullification of fact
and Socialist doctrine as Wayland is
allowing advertisers to make in the
"Appeal." It must not be forgotten
that readers of a Socialist paper give
greater credence to ads. appearing in
such a paper than if they saw them in
a capitalist sheet. A Socialist paper
has an all around responsibility to its
readers.

Some may hold that Mr. Wayland, the
owner of the "Appeal," does not know
any better than to accept such ads. It
may be pointed out that he at one
time tried to triumph over present day
conditions by establishing a "Socialist
colony." His colony, Ruskin, went to
pieces, but Wayland got out before the
crash, selling to the colony all his in-
terest in its property.

But there is evidence that Wayland
does know, that tactically, and ethi-
cally, it is wrong to commercialize a So-
cialist paper, in the manner of this
land ad., for down in an obscure corner
of the "Appeal" we find three lines,
unheeded, reading: "The 'Appeal' is not
responsible for any statement made by
its advertising manager nor made in
its advertising columns." Is this a
salvo to its conscience, or is it a sop
to those who are high-minded enough
to question Wayland's commercial
policy?

Wayland disclaims all responsibility,
in face of the fact that he as owner
is the one responsible. But that aside,
the "Appeal" hustlers have a responsi-
bility in the matter, responsibility to
the Socialist movement. You cannot
escape the logic of Socialism that the
holding of small property by the work-
er is a snare and delusion; conse-
quently you cannot escape responsi-
bility if you aid in pushing a paper
that, whether in advertising, or other
columns, makes no difference, allows
the notion that by being little prop-
erty-holders, the workers can escape from
the hell of capitalism. Those who stand
for such acts by a so-called Socialist
paper aid in dragging Socialism into
the mire of capitalism.

J. H.
Watch the label on your paper. It
will tell you when your subscription
expires. First number indicates the
month, second, the day, third, the year.



UNCLE SAM AND

BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN—I wonder
why it is the Socialists must season
so benign a principle as theirs with the
sauce of class hatred.

UNCLE SAM—Do they?

B. J.—Why, certainly they do. Don't
you know that they preach class
hatred?

U. S.—No, I don't; and what's more,
I know they don't.

B. J.—Will you deny that the Social-
ists are always saying that they aim
at the conquest of power by the work-
ing class?

U. S.—No; I won't deny that; on the
contrary, I admit it and approve of it.

B. J.—Very well; and what, pray, do
you call that if not seasoning a good
principle with hatred, class hatred. How
can one class win without another los-
ing?

U. S.—It simply can't be done; right
you are in that.

B. J.—Now, how can you deny that
that sort of thing is a seasoning of
hatred? Classes are bad things; where
they exist rows, conflicts, hatred must
be. What would be the use of wiping
out one class to set up another?

U. S.—Now you begin to talk sense.

B. J.—There, then you agree, don't
you, that this setting up one class and
setting down of another keeps up class
rows and hatred?

U. S.—I fully agree that to set up
one class and set down another, and
keeping up class distinctions don't set
us further on the road toward a humane
existence.

B. J.—Well, I'm glad to hear you say
so. That's what I meant.

U. S.—And, if that means anything,
it means that you suppose the victory
of the

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

THROUGH WITH BOGUSNESS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed find stamps to cover cost of pamphlets. I am indebted to The People for pulling the skin from off my eyes. I was a subscriber to the New York "Socialist" until that paper suspended publication, and then I began receiving the New York "Call." About the first issue I received contained red hot protests against the sentencing of the A. F. of L. leaders, and nothing about Preston and Smith. In fact I don't believe I would know any thing about these comrades if it had not been for other papers. And by the way, I want to make application for membership in the S. L. P., and also send me address of the I. W. W. headquarters. I suppose I will be called a sore head, and a "De Leon pup," but it is worth it. At any rate I will not be confronted with fraudulent ads. If I stick to The People.

E. T. Thompson.
Terre Haute, Ind., January 31.

A DEBATE WITH AN ANARCHIST AND THE MORAL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—A debate was held here on January 29th between Harry Schade of the Socialist Labor Party and W. C. Owen, leading Anarchist of Los Angeles. The subject was "Anarchism versus Socialism." Harry Schade spoke first and last, and did full justice to his side of the question. Schade showed, in an able and logical manner, that "freedom" and "equality" flowed from the economic basis of society, and that the Socialist, contrary to the reasonless Anarchist, builds and works from the ground up. "Dream as you may, aspire as much as you will, counsel the people to free themselves from economic thralldom," said Schade, "but unless you indicate the necessary course to pursue, you accomplish nothing."

He then proceeded to point out the class struggle raging in society. He showed that Owens had said, in one of his books that one man can produce more screws working for himself than he could working with others. This is nonsense: co-operation produces the greatest amount by the least expenditure of energy. We deal with the facts of industrial life, with the actual social conditions that economic evolution has brought about, and not with Anarchist or other freakish vagaries, ideals, aspirations and what not. Certain conditions are here, the result, the outcome, of the economic evolution that has been continually going on through the ages. With them we deal; according to them we act. We realize that the tool of production today is colossal, is inevitably operated collectively, and that therefore the operators of the tool are naturally organized in the plants of production; that this consequently involves administration, and, in its turn, administration necessitates a central directing authority, or, if you please, government. True, this government has been prostituted from its pristine function—that of being the central directing authority in social production, into an agency of the present dominant, capitalist class. But the revolutionary Socialist Movement is organized to restore this central directing authority to its original and logical function: As Engels shows, under Socialism the present government of persons will be displaced by the administration of things. This administration will be democratically elected by the workers themselves in all the shops and plants throughout the land. Anarchists, not being "posted," ignoring or rather, knowing nothing of social evolution, cry out in their blindness, "Away with all central directing authority; away with captains of ships, aye, I suppose, even with rudders on the boats!"

Schade proved from Anarchist books that Anarchism led to, yes, promoted, assassination and such like puerile tactics. Thereupon our friends of the Anarchist persuasion in the audience began to hiss, but Schade said: "I hear hisses, but I yet read out of the book!" Thereupon, also, many handclappings from a judicious audience. Thus spoke Schade. And the Anarchist? What had he to say? His logic was in no wise brilliant. Pray let me speak in all charity! He spoke much but said, alas, nothing. What is Anarchism? The gods but know! We of Los Angeles are still in the dark. Fain would we know, but it is too "deep" for U. S. Owens, a sympathetic man, a deep-feeling man, highly emotional—as I judge it—a man, be it said in all fairness,

but two courses open to the Federation in this emergency and asks the Executive Council to decide which shall be followed—to appeal, etc., "or drop the appeal and let the perversion of law take its course."

Because Mr. Gompers sees but two courses to pursue it does not follow there is no other.

"To let the decision stand unchallenged in the courts, to fall short of using every means within the law to get it authoritatively and clearly reversed, would not only be to sacrifice the three individuals directly concerned but it would be to abandon to the vengeance of the organized capitalists all other men and women in the labor movement."

Now, this is very thoughtful on the part of the editor of "The Call," as if the aforesaid men and women were not already suffering from the vengeance of organized capitalists.

The editor says further on: "We do not want to see Gompers, Mitchell and Morrison go to jail, nor we suppose, does Mr. Hunter want just that, though he uses the phrase in his article on this page to-day."

Now I have read the article referred to and want to say the editor has no right to suppose anything as to the sentiments of Mr. Hunter on the subject. His ideas are as clear as the English language can express them: the lack of ability to express himself clearly is not a weakness of Robert Hunter.

The first two paragraphs of Mr. Hunter's letter are as follows: "I hope Gompers and his associates will go to jail."

"This is exactly what is needed now to bring the boycott and the injunction properly before the public."

The sins of Gompers against the working class are many and grievous, but I would not like to see him go to prison. I would rather forgive him his faults. What I would like to see is that he and his associates fall in line with the working class. Why appeal from one capitalist court to another to be thrown down with a more resounding thud every time? How idle to talk of exhausting every means within the law when it is capitalist-made law, and if there is any deficiency in the law the capitalist court fills the deficiency in the interest of the capitalist class.

CHASING WILL-O'-THE-WISPS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Rumor has it that the members of one of the unions of lithographic workers has contracted the high tariff fever, and intends sending a representative to Washington to beg for a higher duty upon lithographic work. How often have these same workers been led to believe that the panacea for their condition had been discovered? Each time it proved to be a Dead Sea Apple. First it was the Labor Day parade; next, the Carnegie peace festival; after this another Labor Day parade; then a ladies' auxiliary; and now the Democrats, Independence Leaguers and Republicans who frown upon politics in the union are almost shouting themselves hoarse in favor of a higher duty. Should a tariff act be passed and the lithographic workers across the pond pack their "duds" and hie to this country, what then? Why, another visit to the Capitol and a "brilliant" oration in favor of anti-immigration.

After this they may realize that they have been wasting time and money, chasing will-o'-the-wisps, and that the only remedy for themselves and all other workers is to organize correctly, politically and economically, in order to put an end to the present economic system, the private ownership of the natural and social opportunities by which labor is robbed of the wealth it alone produces, denied the right of self employment, and forced into idleness, poverty, crime and prostitution. They must see that it is necessary to institute the Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution will be the collective property of the people, and every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization.

Spearhead.

College Point, L. I., February 4.

PRESENTS FROM THE WEST FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—From the far West comes a cheerful note of support to the Daily People Bazaar. One of our women comrades out in Colorado's heights has worked and produced a beautiful present for our affair. Below is her reminder that the gift is on its way.

L. Abelson.

New York, February 3.

(Enclosure.)

Colorado Springs,
January 30, 1909.

Mr. L. Abelson,

Dear Comrade:—I am sending you a sofa pillow for the bazaar and fair. I wish you success for the Daily and Weekly People.

Fraternally yours,
Mrs. Mary E. Gintner.

PUTTING THE "CALL" EDITOR ARIGHT.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In the New York "Evening Call," S. P. of January 13, the editor, under the caption, "Don't Worry About Funds," offers some remarkable advice.

The editor says Mr. Gompers "sees

but two courses open to the Federation in this emergency and asks the Executive Council to decide which shall be followed—to appeal, etc., "or drop the appeal and let the perversion of law take its course."

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The first two paragraphs of Mr. Hunter's letter are as follows: "I hope Gompers and his associates will go to jail."

"This is exactly what is needed now to bring the boycott and the injunction properly before the public."

The sins of Gompers against the working class are many and grievous, but I would not like to see him go to prison. I would rather forgive him his faults. What I would like to see is that he and his associates fall in line with the working class. Why appeal from one capitalist court to another to be thrown down with a more resounding thud every time? How idle to talk of exhausting every means within the law when it is capitalist-made law, and if there is any deficiency in the law the capitalist court fills the deficiency in the interest of the capitalist class.

Appeal? Yes! But to the court of last resort, the people.

As to the offense charged, contempt of court, who of the working class is not guilty? There are not prisons enough in America to hold them all. I am disgusted with labor organizations passing resolutions asking leniency from the chief executive in this case.

H. H. Lane.

New Haven, Conn., January 19.

PICKED UP ALONG THE ROAD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I received a subscription from an S. P. man yesterday. This man has been a member of the S. P. for eight years but did not know that the party at its last convention took a hostile attitude on the question of immigration of workingmen, and that at Stuttgart their delegates presented an anti-immigration resolution which was overwhelmingly defeated. He was also unaware of the fact that leading lights in the S. P. spoke of the workmen of Europe as "the hordes of Europe."

Industrial conditions throughout the country are far worse than they were before the beginning of the year, in spite of the "encouraging" reports that the capitalist papers are publishing daily. All I hear is that there is no prospect of better times for another four to six months, and it is doubtful if times will be any better for the balance of the year.

I overheard a conversation, of a mining boss to the effect that his company is installing mining machinery and if it works satisfactorily a number of men will be laid off. Thus what might be a blessing to the human race is turned into a curse.

D. Rudnick.

Peoria, Ill., January 31.

AS TO THE TYPOGRAPHICAL LABEL.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—On my journey yesterday afternoon looking for renewals to the Weekly People, I met the boss printer of a good-sized Typographical Union shop. He told me about the hard proposition he was up against on eight hours and the schedule wage. He also said that since the strike over a hundred one-man shops are open, doing job work and other printing at greatly reduced prices, making it a hard matter for a union shop to get along, as these one-man shops work all manner of hours and still have the union label. He told of two printers who, since the strike, could not land a job, so they went to work with a fire extinguisher company, and work nights on printing jobs. These men also have the use of the label. Most of these places buy a

second-hand outfit and pay \$10 on it.

So this "union label" seems to be given out to any old thing.

Press Committee.

Providence, R. I., January 25.

PROSPERITY AND THE RAILROADERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—In my correspondence a week ago, I reported in regard to a first-class freight run being put on longer hours. Now that has been changed again, owing to loss of freight to transport and the expense attached to exploiting the train crew. This freight therefore returns to its old mileage.

It is said the company kicked on the overtime put in by the engineer, two days in one, making it about \$9 for sixteen hours.

The other part of the crew have received their overtime, but the engineer has not. He has got a "case" on the railroad, "a good one," the conductor calls it. It seems this is a case of possession being nine points of the law. The capitalist railroad holds the money and the tool; all Mr. Engineer has is a "case."

Freight business has fallen off on this particular branch a great deal. This is the main reason why the railroad company is not exploiting the train crew extra time. A brand new general yard master has been brought on from the Lehigh Valley Railroad to take the place of the last one, he being put back on a tramp switcher. Now the brand new one will try to make a record and save for railroad plutocracy a dollar here and there.

On going to a meeting at S. L. P. headquarters I met a railroad brakeman, and I urged him very strongly to come with me to our meeting. "Oh, no, I can't; I must meet a fellow about a boat; the workingman is down now and it is his own fault," he lamented. I pointed to the B. R. T. button on his hat. "What about that?" I asked; "Doing anything?" "No, you can't expect anything to be done when business is poor." "Sure," I said, "just the time to get busy. Come to our meeting and we will show you how."

But, no, he left me with a worried look. This is one I can't get to read.

Railroader.

Providence, R. I., January 21.

PROSPERITY MISSING IN WINONA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I hereby send you a statement comparing the number of men employed in 1907 and 1908 in the industry in which I am employed. The industry may be divided as follows: planing mill, in 1907, 13 men were employed; in 1908, 9 men; sash shop, in 1907, 30 men were employed; in 1908, 29 men; lumber yard, in 1907, 42 men were employed; in 1908, 29 men; total of men employed in 1907, 85; 1908, 61.

That is not all; those men who did work, did not work as many full days and the days were composed of shorter hours.

Christ Petersen.

Winona, Minn., January 15.

Three Gems

OF

Scientific Socialism

• • •

We have just received another edition of three of the leading books on Scientific Socialism.

Socialism, Utopian and Scientific

By Engels.

Paris Commune

By Marx.

Wage, Labor and Capital—

Free Trade

By Marx.

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CLOTH-BOUND. 50 CENTS EACH.

POSTAGE PREPAID.

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N. Y. LABOR NEWS CO.,

28 City Hall Place, New York.

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50-CENT BOOKS.

Origin of the Family, Engels.

Positive School Criminology, Ferri.

Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History, Kautsky.

Social and Philosophical Studies, Lafargue.

Socialism, Positive and Negative, La Monte.

Revolution and Counter Revolution, Marx.

Collectivism and Industrial Evolution, Vandervelde.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.,

28 City Hall Place, New York.

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LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

O. H., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—You might as well join the Salvation Army as join the so-called Socialist party.

W. E. G., DETROIT, MICH.—The Socialist is the most religious of men. The man who howls: "Be good! be good! be good!" and strains to keep up the material conditions that render goodness impossible, or who does nothing to overthrow such material conditions—such a man is the quintessence of irreligiosity. The Socialist labors to bring about material conditions that make goodness possible. All others are "atheists" in the worst sense that the word ever conveyed.

T. C., COLUMBUS, O.—Demagogery is no better than plutocracy. They are both tuned to the key of flattery, and the flatterer ever has to make his living from the flattered. The plutocrat flatters the plutocrat and pulls his leg. The demagogue flatters the workingman—and sells him out.

H. S. C., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—Unity of industrialists cannot be brought about by shouting "Unity" but by a firm stand against Anarchy. Anarchy, and all that thereby hangs, spells "S-c-a-t-t-e-r."

D. B., PASADENA, CALIF.—Article was published in Daily People, January 23; Weekly, January 30, under heading "Freedom a Myth."

Next question next week.

A. B., FALL RIVER, MASS.—The Confederation General du Travail does not repudiate political action. Its literature expressly recognizes political action. Anyone who says otherwise either tells a deliberate untruth, or repeats like a parrot what untruthful people invent.

C. P., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.—The term to "take and hold" has acquired a historic significance from the context in which it appears. It appears in the preamble of the I. W. W., which calls upon the workers to put an end to capitalism by uniting upon the political as well as the economic field, and thus taking and holding the necessities of production. "Taking" might be enough; "holding," however, implies furthermore the organization of society upon a basis that will not restore the present evils. For instance—a thief "takes;" but he cannot "hold," i. e., organize society upon the basis of thievery.

Next question next week.

J. H., MANSFIELD, O.—This office cannot answer in the name of the Socialist party, whose method, being purely political, is foreign to Socialism.

As to Socialism, it aims at the establishment of the Industrial Republic—a social system in which Government consists mainly in regulating production, and, consequently, is administered, not by politicians, but by the elected representatives of the productive and useful labor of society. Such a system would have for its inevitable result the affording of ample opportunity to all who wish to work to secure affluence as a result of moderate exertion. Consequently, the "remuneration" of people who now, by their own labor have acquired possession of some property, would be to give them vastly more than the pittance they now hold. The Social Revolution will seize only the property needed for production.

R. R., ROCHESTER, PA.—The absolute monarchy of old England and old France does not differ in the important characteristic of "political," or "non-political" from the present constitutional monarchy of England, or the present Republic of France. The difference between the two sets lies in the different class that holds the whip-handle of the feudal government. Formerly, the feudal Crown ruled, now the bourgeois rules. Formerly the controlling property was land; now it is capital. But, formerly as now, it was private property that ruled, and where private property holds there must be class government, hence political, that is, tyrannous sway. Landed property is not the only territorial property. Capitalism is as territorial as feudalism. In both instances it is territory that is ruled, and the ruled are ruled only as inhabitants of a given territory. In the original gentle system the administration was direct over the members of the gens; it affected territory only to the extent that the gentiles occupied it. Think it over closely. It is a conclusive evidence of Socialism or the Industrial Republic as

the next and necessary stage in social evolution.

Next question next week.

N. A., NEW YORK.—One thing is instruction, another is word-mixing. Instruction does good to him who is instructed; word-mixing does good only to the mixer.

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Capitalism, being an evolution from feudalism; which was evolved from the Anarchism that accompanied the break-down of the Roman Empire; which evolved from the advanced (or decayed) tribal formation in which heredity followed the male line; which evolved from the previous gentile system in which heredity followed the female line; and so on backward, capitalism is therefore related to the primitive life of the race, although its appearance is as different as a dog is from the protoplasm that acoons ago it evolved out of.

Next question next week.

"STUDENT," LOS ANGELES, CALIF.—Now to your third question—

"Surplus value" is not "extracted." Whatever the social system may be; there is "surplus value," to wit, that amount of new wealth over and above the cost of living of the workers. Under feudalism, the method of appropriating the surplus value was slavery and later serfdom; under capitalism, it is wage slavery. Under Socialism the surplus value will be appropriated by the workers themselves.

Next question next week.

W. A. S., SYDNEY, N. S. W.—Now to your third question—

The membership of the I. W. W. emphatically repudiated the attempted change of the Preamble. The overwhelming majority of these, realizing the piratical character of the officials in Chicago, repudiated these at the same time. Some few members of the I. W. W. preferred to wait until they saw how those who stuck to the Chicago ex-officers would treat the proposed change. The general vote on the proposed change is officially announced from Chicago as 796 in favor and 160 against. These figures disclose the utter failure of the Anarchist wing to capture the body, especially when one considers that even the figures in favor are padded.

Next question next week.

V. C., VANCOUVER, B. C.—Now to your third question—

The Socialist party does not represent the working class. It did not do so even when it started ten years ago; it does less so now. It has steadily developed from Left to Right—from proletarian interests to bourgeois reform, requiring pure and simple politicianism. With increasing frequency the term "working class" is jeered at in the S. P.

Next question next week.

J. McC., TACOMA, WASH.—The writer of the article "The Thorn that Ranks" will hunt up the place where John Swinton made the remark attributed to him.

J. B. G., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—The police spy, or "agent provocateur," is one who earns his living by egging workingmen on to get their heads in the noose. It follows that the police spy need not necessarily be in the employ of a capitalist official. A man who of his own motion, and either to earn his living, or to gratify some vile instinct, does the work of the police spy, is one.

J. W. McF., KANSAS CITY, MO.—The act of a Judge, in sentencing a workman to jail for having disobeyed an order of the Court which no Court has the power to issue, is equivalent to that Judge's enacting a law rendering the act complained of criminal. Seeing that such a Judge also pronounces sentence, it follows that the legislation and the sentence take place at the same time—a legislation that renders criminal an action not previously pronounced criminal by law, and committed before the "legislative act" of the Judge who punished the action. Here are all the essential features of ex post facto legislation.

F. P., HOLLAND, MICH.—Yes; the "Call" is still in existence. What we think are its chances to live? We should say that its death would be a badge of ingratitude upon Mr. Robert Hunter, who, in the "Call," has a platform from which daily to ventilate his platitudes and vagaries—a chance the gentleman could not otherwise revel in.

E. I. B., ST. CHARLES, MO.—Have no idea, and nobody else has, how the

word "Company" got into the name "Labor News Company." The Labor News Company, so called, is not and never was a Company. It ever was, what it is now, a branch of the Socialist Labor Party for the publication and dissemination of Socialist literature; and ever was and is owned by the S. L. P., with out any Company about it.

J. G. W., GRANITE, OKLA.—Letter is welcomed. Will be published editorially with comment.

W. T., NEW YORK.—Edison Mfg Co., 10 Fifth Ave.; American Vitograph Co., 116 Nassau St.; American Mutoscope and Biograph Co., 11 E. 14th St.

A. E., NEW YORK.—See above to "J. W. McF., Kansas City, Mo." The Judge who enjoined Gompers did not enact ex post facto legislation. He simply did a thing he had no right to do. The Judge who sentenced Gompers, he enacted ex post facto legislation. His sentence is itself legislation and punishment, besides,—punishment of an act committed before legislation upon it. The essential features of ex post facto legislation are: 1. That it renders criminal an act after its commission; 2. That it is enforced.

W. R. P., MISHAWAKA, IND.; R. B., MILWAUKEE, WIS.; F. D. T., ROLINSFORD, N. H.; M. C., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; F. D. T., ROLINSFORD, N. H.; M. D. S., EAST AUNORA, N. Y.—Matter received.

JESUS AS A CITIZEN.

A New Viewpoint for Those Who Think Individual Morality Sufficient.

Eighteen thousand young people of Cleveland have tried living as Jesus would live for two weeks, and have agreed that it is "easy." They are going right on in the good way the rest of their lives.

The movement is spreading. Other cities are taking it up. A huge host of people—most of whom have been professed followers of the Nazarene all along—are to take up the new and closer walk with Him.

It is a fine thing. It is a healthful thing when Christians recognize that they are not quite living up to their divine Exemplar, and organize for real Applied Christianity.

Most of us live individually on a vastly lower plane than we should. Yet the individually Christian life has been pretty well worked out. To accomplish that is to do no more than has been done by holy men and women from time immemorial.

But would Christ have been contented with the individually-righteous life led by even his most faithful apostles, if they had lived in a city and nation where the people rule; and He had 18,000 strong young followers?

His disciples were not voters. They had no choice to make as to railways or street cars, or public schools or parks. They were not responsible for the collective doings of the communities in which they lived.

"Render unto Caesar," said Jesus, "the things which are Caesar's; unto God the things which are God's." He had to say this or advocate rebellion against Rome.

But in these days there is no Caesar to whom legions of soldiers force us to pay tribute. If we vote away the streets from our children and from the women who cannot vote, we partake in the breach of the commandment "Thou shalt not steal."

If we permit the poisoning of the poor by polluted water, or by poisonous gas and smoke, or set up corporations to kill men and women in factories or on railways or highways, we are joint-stock murderers and break the commandment "Thou shalt not kill."

We are not as good as the early Christians unless we are better. We have responsibilities which they knew not of. The social obligation, the common property, the collective mind, the state and city and national conscience—these are the things that need to be studied and conserved, cultivated and obeyed.

Would Jesus live now as he lived then?

Would He keep out of politics?

Would He consent to the monopoly of land while men went homeless?

Would He accept poverty as hopeless and remediless?

Would He be willing to keep the poor always with us, merely because in the past they have been ever-present—as they were in Judea?

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
23 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtney,
144 Dues Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
23 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.
Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

NOTICE TO SECTIONS.

In accord with the action of the membership in passing the following resolution: "To introduce in the Party a system of uniform book-keeping," this office has prepared a system of book-keeping composed of Section Ledger and Cash Book, which is now on the press. The set may be purchased at sixty cents, postage paid. The amended Constitution is also on the press. Advance orders are now requested for the above-mentioned supplies, and cash must accompany all orders.

Paul Augustine,
National Secretary.

February 5, 1909.

NEW YORK S. E. C.

Regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee, S. L. P., was held Friday, February 5th, 7:30 p. m., with Henry Kuhn in the chair, besides whom there were present Schaefer, Walters and Moonella. Absent: Moskowitz, Donohue and Lynch. Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read. Secretary reported he had notified all members to be present; had written to Party papers in all languages for list of readers in the State and had already received same from "Nepakant," Hungarian paper, received through National Secretary letter from Leudeke, Rochester, in regard to local organization matters; to be attended to by Secretary; sent the Sections circular letter allowing tabulated vote of the S. L. P. in all counties of the State, with comments thereon; in regard to procuring certain Party member to make trip through State, this comrade stated it was impossible for him to undertake trip; secured enough acceptances, 22 members, as candidates for members of State Executive Committee and sent out vote thereon to Sections in Greater New York, eliminating Westchester County, as same was not now organized; wrote Sweeney of Yonkers regarding local conditions in Westchester County.

Secretary of Correspondence Bureau reported letter from Gunn at New Haven regarding Notaryship at Schenectady; replied to by Secretary; notified Sections in Greater New York regarding the matter of keeping Daily People on newsstands; postage bill of Correspondence Bureau of \$11.33 for month of January ordered paid.

Financial report for January: Income, \$38.85; Mileage, \$6.90; Expenses, \$28.34. Secretary was authorized to make short trip through the State and make dates accordingly; in same connection was instructed to collect en route monies for the Operating Fund of the Daily People, and to organize the forces in the several Sections for systematic and regular collection of this fund in the future. Adjourned.

Edmund Moonella, Secretary.

NEW YORK S. E. C., S. L. P.

Sections in New York State will please take notice that the undersigned, Secretary of the State Executive Committee, will make a short trip through the State for the purpose of visiting Sections and establishing connections for the S. L. P. and Sections and readers of The People in the places noted below will please make arrangements accordingly. The stops and dates will be—

Albany, Saturday, February 13th.
Schenectady, Sunday, Feb. 14, 2 p. m.
Troy, Sunday, February 14th, 2 p. m.
Glens Falls, Monday, February 15th.
Gloversville, Tuesday, February 16th.
Lima, Wednesday, February 17th.
Syracuse, Thursday, February 18th.
Rochester, Friday, February 19th.
Buffalo, Saturday, February 20th.
Jamestown, Sunday, February 21st.

These meetings will be for Section members only, and not for propaganda purposes.

Edmund Moonella, Secretary.

MINNESOTA S. E. C.

The S. E. C. of the Minnesota S. L. P., met in regular session January 14, at 425 Edmund street, St. Paul, Minn., with Samuel Johnson in the chair. Absent, N. J. Peterson, C. J. Smith, N. J. Cikanek. Minutes of previous meeting read and approved.

Communications received: Three from members Section St. Paul, regarding party affairs. From H. W. Rodbold, Sturgeon Lake, Minn., and remittance of six months' dues. From Section Winona, remitting payment for fifteen dues stamps. From N. J.

OPERATING FUND.

We often feel disappointed at the results obtained from our appeals, due to the fact that necessity compels us to circulate our wording. It is not always tactful to say that a spade is a spade, even though mighty issues are at stake. We take it that our friends and comrades realize that our appeals for funds are not the result of fancy or whim on our part, but the result of serious forethought, even though at times couched in a roundabout way.

Here's one of our comrades who grasps the situation:

Brooklyn, N. Y., Feb. 2, 1909.

Daily People.—Find enclosed \$1 for the Operating Fund in answer to a call to action in to-day paper. M. C.

E. S., Newport News, Va.	3.00
Proceeds of package party, Section Philadelphia, Pa.	6.00
Azel Gerdin, Detroit, Mich.50
A. Picierio, Cristobal, Panama	10.00
"Come Again," Cristobal, Panama	5.00
"Pat" Graf, Cristobal, Panama	5.00
Joe Wiser, Cristobal, Panama	1.00
Wm. Atkinson, Cristobal, Panama	1.00
J. Hassett, Cristobal, Panama	1.00
L. D. Bechtel, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.80
Wm. D. McFarlane, Los Angeles, Cal.	1.50
A. Levine, New York	1.00
Geo. Willich, Denver, Colo.	1.00
H. Hette, Chicago, Ill.	1.00
S. J. A., New York	1.00
M. C., Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
Total	40.00
Previously acknowledged	3,509.52
Grand total	\$3,549.52

SECTION NEW YORK'S LECTURES AT MANNERCHOR HALL, 203 EAST 56TH STREET.

TUESDAY, February 16, 8 p. m.
"Origin of Christianity." Lecturer, Abraham Levine.

TUESDAY, February 23, 8 p. m.
Subject: "Are Things Improving or Getting Worse?" Lecturer, Daniel De Leon.

MONDAY, March 1, 8 p. m. Subject, "Some Objections to Socialism." Lecturer, Daniel De Leon.

Lectures begin promptly at 8 p. m. Questions pertaining to the subjects are welcome and will be answered by the lecturer.

Lecture Committee.

PRESENTS FOR BAZAAR AND FAIR

We herewith acknowledge receipt of presents for the Bazaar and Fair to be held on Sunday, February 21, at Grand Central Palace.

Although presents are steadily coming in we will need many more if we are to cover the customary number of tables and we would therefore urge Party members and sympathizers to do their utmost in this direction in the remaining days prior to the Festival.

Thomas Grabuski, Lansing, Mich., cash donation 25c.; H. Zahler, city, collection of souvenir post cards; Branch 2, Section Kings County, S. L. P., valuable mahogany piano stool; Miss Harriet Johnson, city, fancy covered clothes hanger, fine pin-cushion; Mrs. Mary E. Glinther, Colo. Springs, Colo., fine sofa pillow; John Kircher, Cleveland, O., box of fine cigars; E. Seidel, city, child's books, "Uncle Remus" and "Br'er Rabbit"; Jeannette and Ruth, Jersey City, fine doll and hammock; 18th and 18th A. D's, New York, fancy postage stamp holder; Mrs. J. B. Matson, Brooklyn, N. Y., box of writing paper, ink well and doll; Mrs. F. Precht, city, fine oil painting.

L. Abelson, Organizer,
23 City Hall Place, New York.

Massachusetts State Executive Committee of the S. L. P. and Section Boston, have jointly arranged for a table at the Scandinavian Socialist Club Fair, to be held in Minot Hall, corner of West Springfield and Washington Sts., Boston, February 18, 19, 20 and 22.

Readers of The People are invited. Literature agent will be present.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

JUST ONE WEEK MORE

IN WHICH TO HUSTLE AND MAKE SURE THE SUCCESS OF DAILY PEOPLE CONCERT.

Just one week from to-morrow and we gather at the Grand Central Palace to enjoy an excellent concert under the auspices of Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, for the benefit of the Daily People.

In this one week there will be ample time, and plenty of opportunity, to make the concert the greatest financial success of any affair yet held by the Section.

There is no doubt but that the concert features will be all that could be wished for. We know what to expect from the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, with Leo Schulz conducting. It is with a feeling of pride and satisfaction that we ask our friends to attend. On the score of excellence there is nothing more to be desired.

While it is pleasing to know that all who may attend will be edified and entertained, we must, however, not lose sight of the fact that it is up to us to get the people there. We must have a full house.

The way to insure a big attendance is by selling the tickets now. A person may promise to attend and forget all about it; with a ticket paid for in his pocket he will not be so apt to forget. Get the tickets out. One does not have to do much talking to dispose of them. They sell themselves.

AN IMPORTANT QUESTION.

See if You Can Answer It to Your Own Satisfaction.

There is no doubt that to-day the opinions of men are formed by what they read. The ruling class recognize this fact, and everywhere we find papers, magazines, and books that are designed to mould opinion favorably to them, put out at low cost. To-day there is no medium for the extension of knowledge and information good, bad and indifferent, equal to the printing press, seconded as it is by the steam engine, which permits of widespread diffusion of what the press puts out.

It is not only the ruling class that recognize these facts: the Socialists realize them just as well, and they, too, have their press. There is a vast difference, though, between the purposes of the capitalist press, and the Socialist Labor Party press: The capitalist press is designed to spread error, and hold the people in mental and physical slavery to the ruling class; the Socialist Labor Party press is dedicated to knowledge, and to freeing the workers from mental and physical slavery to the capitalist class.

The capitalist press caters to ignorance and passion; it strives to keep the people from thinking; it feeds the mind on wind, chaff, and prejudice. The Socialist Labor Party press gives the workers exact knowledge on things they should know. Its work is performed with integrity. The clamor of the demagogue, and the schemes of the cunning have no place in its pages. It has but one cause to serve: the cause of the proletariat, and that cause alone.

The Socialist Labor Party press, hampered though it be by lack of means, does its work well. It is a credit to the organization which stands sponsor for it. Are we all doing our duty by the Party's press as well as the Party's press is doing its duty to the Movement? That is a question for each to ask of himself, and with regard to his responsibility to the Movement.

Consider this question: amplify it in this way, and then put it to yourself: Have I made the most of every opportunity to spread the Party press? Have I sought opportunity to extend its influence? Have I helped financially to safeguard its interests? If you can answer in the affirmative then this does not apply to you. To you we extend Socialist greeting and say continue in the good work.

But should you not be able to answer the question satisfactorily to yourself, we would ask "What are you going to do about it?" As a Socialist you surely recognize your obligation to the cause. Why not perform your duty? If not now, when will there be a better time for you to begin? Now is the accepted time. The Movement calls for the full performance of duty TO-DAY. Join the Propaganda Brigade and push the Party press.

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Those not supplied with tickets may get them at
Daily People office, 23 City Hall place.
Organizer Abelson's office, 23 City Hall place.

S. L. P. Headquarters, 528 E. 6th St.
S. L. P. Headquarters, 235 East Broadway.
S. L. P. Headquarters, 263 W. 42d St. (basement).

And at all business meetings of the Assembly Districts.

Presents for the Bazaar are wanted. Send them to L. Abelson, 23 City Hall place, New York. Don't delay sending them.

The coming week will slip by rapidly, so make the most of the time and the financial success of the concert is assured. The purpose for which it is held is worthy of the best effort of each of us and it should spur us to do the best.

But not only to New York comrades does this apply: Brooklyn, New Jersey, Staten Island, and other comrades within the metropolitan district, can, and should help make the Daily People Concert a record breaking one in every respect. Distant comrades and friends can help by sending presents to the Bazaar.

Altogether then for a grand success for our intrepid Daily People.

UNEMPLOYMENT A DISEASE.

Has Now Attained Magnitude of a World Scourge—Calls for Action.

It is conservatively estimated that there are from 8,000 to 8,000 unemployed in San Francisco at the present time, with the prospect that their number will be considerably increased before the winter is past. Were this number stricken down with any kind of contagious disease there would be a panic among us, and the whole state would be awake to the seriousness of the situation, and concerted effort would be made to do something on their behalf as well as to protect ourselves. We are apathetic because these conditions are so widely prevalent, and because we are afraid that to cure our neighbor we shall have to clean up our own yard. But the presence of a score of people among us affected with the bubonic plague would not constitute a more serious menace and would mean far less of actual misery than is involved in the present industrial conditions in all of our large cities on the Coast.

Unemployment is a disease, both individual and social, and when it reaches the proportions it has attained throughout the civilized world to-day, it is nothing less than a world scourge which calls for that radical consideration and resolute action with which the modern world has met and largely conquered the "black death," and other forms of pestilence once regarded in the light of "Providential mysteries" and "inevitable events," as too many people regard the pestilence of unemployment to-day. "Voice of the Unemployed," San Francisco.

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EMINENT ARTISTS WILL ASSIST.

TICKETS (Admitting One) 25c. HAT CHECKS 10c.
Cinematograph Exhibition to follow Concert. Ball at 8 P. M.

CONCERT PROGRAM FOR DAILY PEOPLE FESTIVAL.

The Entertainment Committee of Section New York County, S. L. P., who have in charge the arrangements for the Daily People Festival, announce the following program for the Concert to be rendered by members of the Metropolitan Opera House Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. Leo Schulz:

Overture—"Light Cavalry" . . . Suppe
2—Two Melodies for Strings
(a) Spring Grieg
(b) Gavotte Bach
3—Cello Solo, "Kol Nidre" . . . Bruch
(An Ancient Hebrew Melody.)

Mr. LEO SCHULZ.
4—Ballet Music "Sylvia" . . . Delibes
(a) Pizzicati, (b) Cortege de Bacchus.
5—"Leonore" No. 3 Beethoven
6—Solo from "Madam Butterfly" . . . Puccini

MISS FLORENCE WADSWORTH.
7—Waltz, "Village Swallows" Strauss
8—Piano Solo (name of Soloist will be announced in a few days.)
9—"Midsummer Night's Dream" . . . Mendelssohn
10—Racy March Berlioz

THE BOURGEOIS A BLUFFER.

Lecturer Describes Attempts to Get "Social Standing."

Newark, January 28.—Characteristics of the "bourgeoisie" of France were described Wednesday night by Professor Ferdinand De France, of New York, in a lecture before the Alliance Francaise. References to marriage among the "bourgeois" was especially interesting. "The bourgeois," said Professor De France, "consists of the class between the nobleman and the workman, and is a product of the French Revolution. The nobility saw their prosperity pass to tradesmen. These were little used to the manners of the 'great age' but wished to imitate the nobility and fell into grotesque exaggerations."

"On this side of the ocean," said the lecturer, "people laugh at the formalities required by law for marriage in France, and think them too restrictive and old-fashioned, and yet it seems as if a happy medium might be reached between some of the exaggerated suggestions recently brought forward and the old-fashioned customs now prevailing in France."

"At the present time the 'bourgeois' are apt to throw dust into one another's eyes and 'bluff,' in order to find either a millionaire husband for their daughter, or a rich heiress for their son. Even young people lay aside the question of love as purely accessory, and would rather make what is generally called a rich marriage than a love match."

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